

ABBREVIATIONS

D'Ohosson	...	... D'Ohosson, Histoire de Mongols, 4 Tomes.
Elliot	...	... Elliot and Dowson, History of India as told by its own Historians. 8 Vols.
Epig. Carn.	...	... Lewis Rice, Epigraphica Carnatica.
Epig. Ind.	...	... Epigraphica Indica.
Epig. Rep.	...	... Epigraphical Report.
Fatūhāt	...	... Fīrūz Shāh Tughluq, Fatūhāt-i- Fīrūz Shāhī, published in Elliot's History of India, Vol. III.
Firishtā, Lucknow Text	...	... Muhammad Qāsim Hindūshāh Firishtā, Tārīkh-i-Firishtā or Gūlshan-i-Ibrāhīmī, published by the Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.
Ibn Baṭūṭah, I.B.	...	... C. Defremery and B. R. Sanguinette, Voyages D' Ibn Batoutah, 4 Tomes.
Imp. Gaz.	...	... Hunter, Imperial Gazetteer.

~~PREFACE~~

My original intention was to write a complete history of the Tughluq dynasty based on original sources dealing with the various phases of state activity, but Sir Denison Ross and Sir Wolseley Haig advised me to confine myself to the reigns of the first two Sultans. Sir Wolseley Haig, who had devoted much time to the study of Indian history, wrote to me that there were highly controversial problems connected with the reign of Muhammad bin Tughluq which deserved careful and impartial investigation. The first European writer to depart from the accepted views about Muhammad bin Tughluq's character and policy was the late Mr. Gardner Brown who was connected for some time with the old University of Allahabad. His article in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society stimulated me to pursue the enquiry further and to place before scholars a correct interpretation of that unfortunate ruler's plans and policies. In writing this work I have primarily relied upon the original sources which have been used with all possible care. It may be that scholars will differ from the views expressed in this thesis but I can claim for myself that I have tried to investigate the truth, to bring out the significance of facts unknown or ill-understood and to redeem a great historical personage from the unmerited obloquy and condemnation of misinformed or uncritical ¹⁰ ~~historians~~. In the vast field of

nd ~~say~~

Search while thou wilt ; and let thy reason go,
To ransom truth, e'en to the abyss below,
Rally the scattered causes ; and that line
Which Nature twists be able to untwine.

1936

THE INDIAN PRESS, LTD.

ALLAHABAD

of Barani, and the ladies of the royal *haram* were also subjected to

life for their master. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* also writes that he was a man of low caste. Hajji describes him in some places as (بردار) and in others as (بردار). Badaoni following Barani and the Tabqat writes (بردار) while Firishta erroneously, it seems, makes it into Parwaz; (برواز) Ibn Batūtah's statement that Khusrau was originally a Hindu is quite correct. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives Khusrau's early history and writes that it was during the sack of Malwa that he had fallen with his brother into the hands of the Muhammadans. He was included in a special corps of slaves and gradually rose to fame under Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah. Only this historian gives us these facts. A little later he adds that there was defect in Khusrau's caste which clearly means that he was a man of low origin. Some texts of Barani have بردار which may be a term of contempt employed to designate a man of admittedly low origin. Baraon means (Steingrass, p. 169) a sweeper of the streets, a dustman. Barani also uses the word Barwar which is probably used for Parwari. Parwari is "an individual of low caste, chiefly employed as village watchmen, gate-keepers, porters, etc. Of the three terms for this people परवारी, घेड़, महर the first is a courteous or conciliating term; the second is a term of reviling; the third is a mere appellative without implication." (Molesworth, "Marathi-English Dictionary," second edition, p. 492). "The Parwaris" are Hindu outcastes, literally the term means "dwellers without walls." "The Parwaris should not by right be called outcastes, seeing that they have caste of their own, obey its rules, and squabble among themselves for precedence with a pertinacity worthy of ambassadors. They are called Atisudras or inferior Sudras, and Antyaja or last born. Any person minutely acquainted with the manners and customs (or customs and absence of manners) of the Parwaris can only consider their exclusion from the town limits as a necessary measure of sanitary police and the abhorrence of personal contact with them as the natural feeling of any man who holds his corporeal frame (as the Hindus do) to be the image of God." Indian Antiquary, 1874, p. 130. The Barbars are mentioned in the Bombay Gazetteer (Vol. I, Part I, p. 173) as a low non-Aryan tribe. The origin of the Barbars is discussed at length in note III (i) on page 174. Buhler writes, (Indian Ant, VI, p. 167) Varvarakas are one of the non-Aryan Tribes which are settled in great numbers in North Gujarat, Koli, Bhil or Mer. Sidhraj's contests with the Barbarkas seem to refer to what Tod describes (West India, pp. 173, 195, as the inroads of mountaineers and foresters on the plains of Gujarat during the 11th and 12th centuries. The name of Barbar is of great age and is spread from India to Morocco. It seems Parwari or Parwar and Barbar signify pretty nearly the same thing. The Barwars of Barani were a low class people in Gujarat who were mostly Hindus.

Briggs adds in a footnote (I. P. 387):—"The Parwari is a Hindu outcast who eats flesh of all kinds and is deemed so unclean as not to be admitted to build a house within the town." Some European scholars have fallen into great error about Khusrau's caste. James Bird (History of Gujarat, translated from the *Mirat-i-Ahmaddi*, p. 167) is utterly wrong in saying that Hasan was a Rajput of the Parmar tribe. He confounds the Parwari with the Parmar clan of the Rajputs. Bayley in a footnote in his "Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat" (p. 41) also wrongly says that the word in the text (referring to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*) seems intended for Parmar and the expressions used with it would rather lead to the belief that the two brothers belonged to some powerful tribe

was a prompt response and he never grudged to render the help I needed. My gratitude is in a large measure due to Professor L. F. Rushbrook-Williams but for whose never-failing kindness and support this work would have been impossible. It was he who showed me the way to historical research and but for whose encouragement and assistance, I would have been dealing to-day with litigants and their causes in courts of law. To Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganatha Jha, the learned Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, I am deeply indebted for help in procuring MSS. from various quarters. I am also grateful to the authorities of the India Office, the Bankipore, the Imperial, and the Asiatic Society of Bengal libraries who always gave me facilities of consulting the MSS. in their possession. To my colleagues of the History Department I am thankful for their suggestions and criticisms.

The remaining history of the Tughluq dynasty will be concluded in another volume which is in the course of preparation. The materials for the reigns of Firuz Tughluq and his successors have been collected and utilised, and I hope to be able before long to place before students of history many new facts about the character and policy of that theocratic monarch and the decline and fall of the empire after his death.

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD,
February 26, 1936.

ISHWARI PRASAD.

became Ākhur Beg (superintendent of the royal stables). According to Ibn Batūtah, robes of honour were sent to the provincial governors, and all accepted them except Ghazi Malik, the governor of Dipalpur, who threw his *Khil'at* aside and treated it with contempt. Jahariyā, the murderer of Qutb-al-Din, was rewarded for his services and Khusrau signified his gratitude by lavishing honours and favours upon him. The treasures of the state were rifled, and largesses were scattered among the people to obtain their support. Though Khusrau had assumed the title of Nāsir-al-Din, he began to make an attempt to establish Hindu supremacy, and for this he collected around him a large number of outcasts from Gujarat—a corps of his own kinsmen who were bound to him by ties which could not be easily broken. Such a clique was necessary to maintain his power in the midst of hostile foes. Barani writes that Islam was treated with contempt; the Quran was desecrated and placed in the niches of mosques, on which were enthroned idols to the grief and disgust of the faithful. Ibn Batūtah who is less orthodox than Barani describes this sudden revolution by saying that Hindus were appointed to high offices, and an order was promulgated forbidding the slaughter of cows.²⁵ The Muslims were deprived of their property and their wives and daughters, and the number of wicked men increased. Making allowance for the exaggeration of which Ibn Batūtah's Muslim informants may have been guilty, it must be admitted that for a time the ascendancy of a Hindu convert was established at Dihli. The Court nobles were divided into factions; there were some whose obeisance was purchased by means of gold, while the helplessness of others made them acquiesce in the new order of things. The Sultanate of Dihli had lost its prestige, and if a powerful Hindu Raja had organised a confederacy of his fellow-princes, he might have easily obtained possession of Dihli, and the power of the Muhammadans might have been well-nigh extinguished. But the unclean Parwarī, left alone, perished in complete isolation. How could he permanently found a Hindu state upon the support of satellites whom everyone hated and despised? Besides, the Alai nobles were filled with pain and grief at his usurpation of the royal authority. Among these discontented nobles was Fakhr-al-Din Juna whom the usurper had tried to conciliate by

²⁵ Ibn Batutah III, p. 200.

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In preparing this work I have received the utmost encouragement from Sir Denison Ross, Sir Wolseley Haig and Professor Sylvain Lèvi, the world-famed French Indologist, who alas! is no longer in the land of the living. He generously procured for me copies of MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris and took a keen interest in the progress of my studies. Sir Wolseley Haig, indefatigable to the last in the service of India's history, was ever ready to give advice and assistance. He too has gone to join the Choir Invisible but the spirit of his work will endure and continue to inspire generations of students. Whenever I had occasion to consult him, there

Lakhnauti, because in 724 A.H. (1324 A.D.) when Ghiyas-al-Din started for his Bengal campaign Nāsir-al-Din came to Tirhut from Lakhnauti to pay homage. It does not appear that Nāsir-al-Din was at the time in possession of Lakhnauti, for after the defeat of Bahadur he was reinstated in his former position by the Sultan. But it is quite possible that he may have acquired some influence, though not amounting to actual rulership. After a show of resistance Bahadur was captured by Haibat Ullah Qāsūrī,⁶⁰ and Nāsir-al-Din was reinstated in charge of Lakhnauti, and was awarded a canopy and a batōn as a mark of royal confidence. Tatar Khan foster-son of the Sultan, who held the territory of Zafrabad, was deputed to reduce the whole country to submission. The claims of Shihāb-al-Din or of his sons, if alive, were ignored, in favour of Nāsir-al-Din, who, according to Barani, had established a preferential claim to the kingly office by reason of his humility and submission. This is evidenced by a coin, bearing the names of Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq I, and Nāsir-al-Din Ibrahim Shah, governor of Bengal, which was most probably struck during the Sultan's visit to Bengal.⁶¹

On his way back from Lakhnauti the Sultan encountered the Raja of Tirhut who appeared at the head of a considerable force with hostile intentions. No other historian except Firishta has given an account of this episode, a reference to which occurs also in the native annals. According to Firishta who relies upon a certain work which he calls *Fatah-us-Salātīn*, considered by Briggs as a compilation of little authority, the Raja, who is said to have possessed a considerable force, was pursued into an impervious forest which was cleared up in a short time by the royal forces.⁶² At last, the Raja entrenched himself in his fort which was surrounded by a high wall and seven ditches full of water. A terrible battle ensued in which the Raja's men fought with stubborn courage, but the imperialists filled up the ditches with sand and pulled down the walls of the fortress in three weeks' time. The Raja and his family were made

⁶⁰ T. M. MS.

⁶¹ J.A.S.B., 191

J.A.S.B.,

J.A.S.B.

pp. 3.

J.A.S.B., 1922, XVIII, pp. 420-21.

Numismatic chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, Parts I and II, p. 97.

⁶² Briggs, I, pp. 406-07.

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rejected this statement of Husam Khan's in view of the unblemished character of the Sultan but for the fact that the word marriage occurs in the text. Still, we may hesitate to believe that the primary motive of the Sultan in undertaking this costly expedition which entailed heavy loss in men and money in a most inhospitable quarter could be merely the acquisition of women. The object of the expedition, as appears from Barani's and Ibn Batūtah's accounts, was to extend the protectorate of Dihli over some refractory mountain chiefs.

The Sultan collected a large army under able generals and dispatched a lakh of horsemen and infantry according to Ibn Batūtah and eighty thousand according to Yahyā, Badaoni, Firishta and Husām Khan, under the command of Malik Naqbiah who captured the town of Jadiyah which was situated at the base of the mountain.³⁴ The army marched from Dihli under the imperial commandant, who does not seem to have been a strategist of marked ability, nor does he seem to have realised fully the importance of the physical configuration of the mountainous region. To keep close communication with the headquarters, the troops were asked to build small posts so that there might be no difficulty in obtaining supplies and re-inforcements from Dihli. When the Dihli army came into view, the hill-men with their bows and spears made their appearance, but in this rugged country surrounded by impervious woods it was no easy task to engage the mountaineers and the organised army of Dihli, invincible in the open field, found itself in a dangerous situation. The mountain was accessible only by a single pass, and not more than one man could ascend the hill at a time. The royal army escalated the mountain, and seized the town of Warangal, which stood on a rock.³⁵ Victory

³⁴ Ibn Batūtah says, the army was commanded by Malik Nukbiah or Nukbah, while Yahya, Badaoni and Firishta mention Khusrau Malik as the commander of the royal forces. It is possible, the command may have been entrusted to both of these men. In another place Ibn Batūtah writes the name of this officer as Malik Bughra.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 325.

Jadiyah has not been identified. Jarbah is mentioned as a mahāl in the Sarkar of Kamayun in the Ain-i-Akbari.

Atkinson, Notes on the History of the Himalayan districts, p. 52.

³⁵ Warangal cannot be identified. There is no such place mentioned in any of the Gazetteers or maps. Both the towns seem to have disappeared now.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abul Fedā	...	...	Abul Fedā, Tārīkh-i-Abul Fedā.
Al-Badāonī	...	...	'Abdul Qādir Badāonī's <i>Muntakhab-ut Tawārīkh</i> translated into English by Ranking and Lowe.
Arabic History of Gujārāt	...	...	'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Omar Al-Makkī Al-Āsafī, 'Ulugh Khānī, surnamed Hājjī-ad-Dabīr, Zafar-al-Wālih bi Muzaffar Wālih edited by Sir Denison Ross. 3 Vols.
A. S. B. MS.	...	...	Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.
A. S. R.	...	...	Archaeological Survey Report.
Badāonī, Cal.-Text	'Abdul Qādir Badāonī Tārīkh-i-Badāonī or Muntakhab-ut-Tawārīkh, Bibliotheca Indica Series.
Badr-i-Chāch	The Qasīdāhs of Badr-i-Chāch.

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of superior might, also began to assert itself, and in the Deccan particularly there was talk of organising a confederacy of Hindu Rajas for the defence of religion and the vindication of national honour. Circumstances promised support to such an enterprise, and when trouble arose on all sides, the energy of the state was scattered, and concentrated armed action became impossible. What aggravated the situation was the Sultan's unwillingness to consider coolly the causes of unrest. His confidence in his own strength and ability to bear down all opposition prevented him from tempering force by conciliation. At last autocracy brought about its own nemesis, and the authority of the state was defied in all quarters.

Ma'bar was a province of the empire of Dihli with its headquarters at Madura. In 1327 A.D. Muhammad Tughluq had asserted his authority over the province and had completely subjugated it. While the Sultan was coping with famine in Hindustan and was engaged in punishing the refractory people of

Rebellion in
Ma'bar, 735 A.H.
(1334-35 A.D.).

the Doab near Kanauj and Dalmau, news came that Sayyid Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah of Kaithal,¹ the governor of Ma'bar, had revolted and proclaimed himself as independent king and struck coins in his name. This occurred in 1334-35 A.D. Barani is wrong in placing this rebellion after the revolt of Fakhr-al-Din Mubarak in Bengal, which occurred in 737 A.H. (1337-38 A.D.).² The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* assigns 741 A.H. as the date of this rebellion,³ and curiously enough Badaoni who faithfully reproduces its account of Muhammad Tughluq's reign alters it to 742 A.H.⁴ Notwithstanding the fact that Barani writes Sayyid Ahsan, father of Ibrahim, Kharitadar and Yahya writes Sayyid Hasan Kaithali, Badaoni muddles up the whole thing and confounds the rebellious governor with Hasan Kangu, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. He writes: "In the year 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) Sayyid Hasan

¹ Kaithal is a town 17 *krohs* from Samana.

² Barani Calcutta Text, p. 480.

Ma'bar . . . Abul Fedā distinctly names Cape Comorin as the point where Malabar ended and Ma'bar began. Ma'bar extends in length from Kaulam to Nilawar nearly 300 *parāsangs* along the sea-coast. This is according to Wassāf. J.R.A.S. 1869, p. 269.

Marco Polo gives a long account of Ma'bar and its kings. Yule, Travels II, pp. 275—82.

³ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* MS.

⁴ Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I, p. 309.

forces against him, and the rebellious governor was defeated and killed sometime in 731 A.H. (1330-31 A.D.),³⁸ and his corpse was exposed along the route to Dihli and paraded through the provinces of the empire to serve as a warning to other like-minded persons. Thus ended ingloriously the rule of the Balbani kings in Bengal.

After the death of Bahadur, Tatar Khan became governor of Sonargaon under the title of Bahram Khan and 'Iz-al-Din Yahya and Qadr Khan were entrusted with the charge of Satgaon and Lakhnauti respectively. Bahram Khan died in 737 A.H. (1336-37 A.D.) and after his death Malik Fakhr-al-Din, his armour-bearer (Silahdar) revolted and himself became governor of Sonargaon and attacked Satgaon and Lakhnauti.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives 739 A.H. as the date of this rebellion. Badaoni who follows this history gives the same date.³⁹ Barani who is a contemporary writer gives no date but simply says: 'About this time occurred the rebellion of Fakhra in Bengal . . . ' mentioning it just before the revolt of Ahsan Shah in Ma'bar.⁴⁰ Ibn Batūtah gives no date, although he says that when in 746 A.H. he visited Bengal, he found Fakhr-al-Din ruling there.⁴¹ The chronology of Muslim historians is highly defective. Barani is obviously wrong in placing the revolt just before the rebellion of Ahsan Shah which occurred in 735 A.H. Nizam-al-Din follows Barani and gives no date.⁴² Firishta's date 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.) is absolutely incorrect, as is proved by numismatic evidence.⁴³ There is a coin of Fakhr-al-Din, dated 737 A.H. Blochmann read this date as 739 A.H. in order to make it agree with Badaoni, and Sir Wolseley Haig also

³⁸ J. A. S. B., 1874, Pt. I, p. 290.

Ibn Batūtah says the king sent an army under Diljālī Tātār (دل جالی تاتار) to Ibrahim Khan. This is Bahram Khan, the adopted son of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq who had been appointed to share authority with Bahadur. Bahadur was overpowered and killed. His skin was stuffed and exposed throughout the whole country, III, pp. 316-17.

Mr. Rākhāl Das Bannerjee in his *History of Bengal* (I, p. 95) places the defeat and death of Bahadur sometime in 733 A.H.

³⁹ Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I, p. 308.

⁴⁰ Barani, *Calcutta Text*, p. 480.

⁴¹ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 212-13.

⁴² *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, *Calcutta Text*, p. 205.

⁴³ *Firishta*, *Lucknow Text*, p. 137.

Quatrèrèrè.	...	...	Quatrèrèrè, Notices des Manu- scrits, XIII.
Raverty	...	...	Minhāj-us-Sirāj, Tabqāt-i-Nāṣirī Translated into English.
Rogers	...	...	Rogers, Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. I.
Sīrat	...	...	Sīrat-i-Fīrūz Shāhī, Khudābakhsh Oriental Library, Bankipore, MS.
Steingass	...	...	Steingass, Persian-English Dictionary.
Tabqāt	...	...	Nizām-al-Dīn Ahmad, Tabqāt-i- Akbarī, Bibliotheca Indica Series. Also Lucknow Text.
Tārīkh-i-Mubārak T. M. MS.	...	S h ā h ī ...	Yahyā bin Ahmad Sirhindī, Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī.
Tieffenthaler	...	...	Tieffenthaler, Description Historique et Geographique De "L' Inde, 4 Tomes.
Thornton	...	...	Thornton, Gazetteer of the Terri- tories of the East India Company, Calcutta, 1791.
Tod	...	...	Annals and Antiquities of Rājas- thān edited by Crooke in 4 Vols.

the people could do nothing. They uttered not a word and continued inactive and indifferent."⁵⁵ Dihli was in a state of great misery, and even the Sultan's household began to feel the pinch. The Sultan felt obliged to remove his court and the population to a more favourable locality. This was about the year 739 A.H.

Ibn Batūtah says that on the 9th Jamad-al-awwal the Sultan left for Ma'bar to quell the revolt of Ahsan Shah.⁵⁶ The date of this rebellion has been fixed as 735 A.H. (1334-5 A.D.). The Sultan must have reached in a shorter period of time, though Ibn Batūtah says Ma'bar is six months' journey from Dihli.⁵⁷ He further says that the Sultan returned after two and a half years, which means that he must have come back sometime in 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.). He stayed at Dihli for some time and engaged himself in devising measures to cope with the deadly famine that was prevailing near the capital. 'Ain-al-Mulk's rebellion occurred in 740-41 A.H. as I have conclusively proved. According to Ibn Batūtah the Sultan stayed at Saragdwāri for two and a half years.⁵⁸ Calculating backwards, we find that he must have gone to Saragdwāri sometime in 739 A.H. (1338-39 A.D.).

Passing Baran (modern Bulandshahr), Patiali⁵⁹ and Kampil,⁶⁰ the Sultan encamped with his army on the bank of the Ganges at a little distance from the town of Khor.⁶¹ Here he founded the town

⁵⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 482.

⁵⁶ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 427.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

⁵⁸ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 356-7.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writing in the 15th century speaks of the ford of Saragdwāri and Badaoni writes of it as existing in the vicinity of Shamsabad.

⁵⁹ Patiali is situated in 27° 42' N. and 72° 5' E. in the Etah district. It lies on the old bank of the Ganges 22 miles to the North-East of Etah.

District Gaz., p. 201.

⁶⁰ Kampil is situated 28 miles North-West of Fatehgarh in 27° 39' N. and 79° 20' E. in the Farrukhabad district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

District Gaz., Farrukhabad, p. 215.

⁶¹ Khor is variously spelt in the different MSS. It is Khod (خود) in the Calcutta Text and خور in the Bankipore MS., but this is a mistake of the scribes. Khor is situated in 27° 33' and 79° 35' E. about six miles to the East of Shamsabad. The modern town of Shamsabad was built upon the ruins of Khor. The old town of Khor, some three and a half miles distant on the Ganges cliff, was founded about the beginning of the 13th century by a Rathor chieftain. All that remains of Khor is a large mound called the Kot or fort of the Khor Rajas, which rises about 30 feet above the level of the alluvial lowlands.

CORRIGENDA

PAGE.		Read	historians	for	historian
6					
19		„	from	„	form
41		„	decree	„	degree
42		„	all	„	both
45		„	doom	„	down
60		„	Dihli	„	Dirli
103		„	fear	„	wear
119		„	those	„	these
144		„	formed	„	made
147		„	Khokhar	„	Khakhar
170		„	Khorasanis	„	Khorasans
190		„	Khṣatriyas	„	Kṣatriyās
253		„	the scene	„	scene

and his overmastering sense of justice led him to deal with the offenders with unusual severity. As we read through the catalogue of murders and mutilations in the pages of Ibn Batūtah, we feel aghast at the seeming brutalisation of this accomplished monarch who was the only man of letters among the mediaeval rulers of Dihli. But a careful study of the growth of his character leads to the conclusion that he was not essentially inhuman or wicked. In early life he was a magnificent ruler with great plans of conquest and administrative reform revolving in his original mind, but man and nature conspired to wreck them. The hostile attitude of the people which was not wholly unjustifiable and the ingratitude of his officers goaded him to desperation so that he was compelled to have recourse to punishment and vengeance as the only means of saving his kingdom from ruin. His analysis of the situation may have been wrong, his methods to meet it defective, but this does not predicate a natural thirst for bloodshed. Sometimes the Sultan fell into his own snare and was betrayed by his confidential advisers as happened in the case of the dealings of 'Aziz Khummār and Malik Maqbūl with the 'Centurions.' The true origin of Barani's charge is to be found in the war of the 'Ulama against Muhammad. How could Barani whose intellect moved in a narrow groove sympathise with Muhammad's liberalism? To his orthodox mind it appeared as if the entire political system of Islam was cut adrift from its ancient moorings and, anxious as he was for the power of the church, he laid special emphasis on the cruelties of the Sultan. But the force of his charge is considerably diminished by the lack of concrete instances.

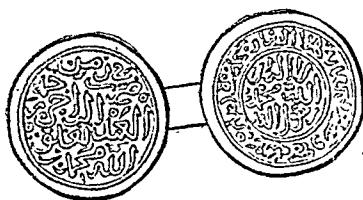
There are one or two other observations which might be made in this connection. The age in which Muhammad lived did not disapprove of such punishments. In the 14th century both in Europe and Asia rulers dealt with their offending subjects in a ruthless manner. The Egyptian Sultan Nāsir, a contemporary of Muhammad, was an enlightened Prince, a patron of art and letters, who extended toleration to Christians but his 'punishments were as barbarous and primitive as his methods of confiscation were sweeping and illegal.' Another contemporary of Muhammad, Ghiyas-al-Din of Ma'bar, an erstwhile vassal, was a horrid ruffian whose atrocities shocked even Ibn Batūtah, yet neither Barani nor those who came after him have condemned his conduct. Even in comparatively modern times the Mughals inflicted at times the most terrible punishments upon their



GOLD
Devagiri, 729 A. H.



SILVER
Delhi, 723 A. H.



GOLD
Delhi, 727, 728, 729 A. H.



BILLON
732 A. H.



BRASS
Daulatabad, 731, 732 A. H.



COPPER



FORCED CURRENCY
Dáru-al-Islam, 733 A. H.

COINS OF MUHAMMAD BIN TUGHLUQ

OPINIONS AND REVIEWS

Sir Wolseley Haig—From the numerous authorities consulted by him—many hitherto neglected, and some both Muslim and Hindu, unknown until discovered by his industry—he has extracted a mass of information which constitutes a most valuable addition to our knowledge of this period of Indian History.....

His industry in seeking and his judgment in the use of his authorities and the temperate and judicious statement of the conclusions which he has reached are all alike commendable. My own disagreement with some of these conclusions in no way blinds me to the merit of his work. In every instance he has stated his views moderately and given for it reasons which even, when not convincing, cannot be set aside as negligible.

Sir Denison Ross—The author gives evidence not only of well-spent industry and a wise selection of his authorities but also an appreciation of the most up-to-date methods of real historical research. He is certainly to be congratulated on his excellent contribution to the history of Muslims in India.

Prof. Rushbrook-Williams—The author displays considerable powers of handling historical material and a satisfactory grasp of the principles of historical criticism. He does not hesitate to differ from accepted authorities when he discovers adequate reasons for such a course.

Professor Margoliouth (Oxford)—Thanks for your work 'History of the Qarauna Turks.' The subject is one in which I am keenly interested and I look forward to much pleasure and profit in reading the book.

A. Berriedale Keith, Edinburgh University—..... Your work certainly bears every mark of sound historical judgment and impartiality of view. Your treatment of the merits and demerits of Muhammad Bin Tughluq in Chapter VIII impresses me as an excellent example of judicious weighing of the relevant facts.

Your account of the institutions of the period in Chapter VII is of special interest to me and probably to most readers who may find the detailed history of the period unattractive.

Your lucid and lively presentation of the facts is very acceptable; and your new book will unquestionably add to the reputation which your earlier works have already earned.

Sir Shah Muhammad Sulaiman, Kt., Judge, Federal Court— it embodies your great researches written in fascinating style, and brings to prominence numerous historical events and particulars which are at least not commonly known to historians. You have presented Muhammad Tughluq's reign and character in a remarkably new light.

Modern Review—His reconstruction of the chronology of this period and the purging of many persistent historical heresies are contributions of great value. The book under review is indispensable to every student of Mediæval India, no matter whether he agrees with or differs from the viewpoint of the author.

Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, Kt.— I read about 100 pages last night and was much impressed by the book. I hope to finish the rest in a few days' time. You are making a very valuable contribution to our historical knowledge and I desire to congratulate you on it.

The "Leader"— The book is based on original sources and is heavily documented. The author has evidently taken great pains in its preparation and has studied, sifted and analysed all the available material with care.

Islam— We feel much indebted to Dr. Prasad for his illuminating thesis for which he has appropriately been rewarded in the conferment of a Doctorate.

Prof. A. B. Keith!—Like the other works of Dr. Ishwari Prasad this treatise seems to be distinguished by the wide knowledge shown by the author, by the judgment exercised in valuing the various testimonies recorded, by clear and interesting narration, and by historical insight. It is plainly a valuable contribution to scholarly investigation of an important aspect of the Mediæval History of India and deserves the cordial appreciation of historians.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain (D. S. MARGOLIOUTH)—This should be regarded as an exceptionally valuable contribution to the history of Muslim India. It is "*Life and Times*" of Muhammad Tughluq, collected from both contemporary and later narratives, some printed, others in Ms., which the writer has collected, correcting or confirming their statements from evidence furnished by coins, inscriptions, and notices in both Indian and European works.

HISTORY OF THE QARAUNIAH TURKS IN INDIA

CHAPTER I

THE WARDEN OF THE MARCHES AS RULER

(1320—1325 A.D.)

Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq, the founder of the Tughluq dynasty, according to Ibn Batūtah, was a Qaraunah Turk, one of those who dwelt in the mountains between Sindh and

The origin of the Qaraunahs and the early life of Ghiyas.

Turkestan. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, the official historian of Firuz's reign, writes in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* that he does not want to repeat his account

of the origin of the dynasty which, he says, he has already given in his work, the *Manāqib-i-Sultan Tughluq*, of which, so far as I am aware, no copies are available.¹ Firishta,² who at the beginning of the reign of Nūr-al-Din Muhammad Jahangir made enquiries at Lahore from persons well-versed in the affairs of the Sultans of India, was informed that there was a tradition in the Punjab that the father of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq was a Turkish slave of Ghiyas-al-Din Balban, who had married a Jat woman of the Punjab, and he is supported by the author of the *Khulāsāt-ut-tawarikh*³ who bases his information upon oral tradition which he found current in his native country. He writes:

پدر سلطان ترک نژاد باسم تغلق از غلامان سلطان
غیاث الدین بلبن و مملوک او از قوم جت پنجاب بود -

¹ 'Afif, Cal. Text, p. 36. Amir Khusrau's *Tughluqnāmah* throws no light upon this problem. Thomas (*Chronicles*, p. 186) adopts the form Qarauniah, but the French edition of Ibn Batūtah has Qaraunah which I think is correct.

سپهسالار رحب مذکور برادر سلطان غیاث الدین تغلق غازي بود - چنانچه از حالت ولادت ایشان این مورخ داستان در مناقب سلطان تغلق مشروح باز نمود -

² Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 130.

³ Dihli Edition, p. 235. Asiatic Society of Bengal, MS. F., 155 b.

Marco Polo who travelled in Asia in the thirteenth century, speaking of the Qaraunahs whom he met at Kirman and other places in Persia, writes that they were the sons of Indian mothers by Tartar fathers and describes them as a predatory and marauding tribe.⁴ Elias and Ross, the learned translators of Mirza Haider's *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, rightly think that Marco Polo used the word Indian in a very broad sense and opine that probably it refers to Beluchi. Marco Polo alone writes that this name is given to them because of their mixed breed. No other writer has given an explanation of the word Qaraunah except Marco Polo, and no dictionary affords any assistance. Among Muslim historians neither Wassāf nor Mirkhond, nor Rashid-al-Din explains the origin of the term. They only dwell upon their warlike qualities and their peculiar physiognomy. They describe them as a *sub-tribe of Mongols who entered Khorasan and Persia under Halākū or some time after his invasion*. Mirza Haider Daghlat, the well-known author of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, writes of them :

“ The learned Mirza ‘Ulugh Beg has written a history which he has called ‘Ulus Arbaa. One of the ‘four hordes’ is that of the Moghul who are divided into two branches, the Moghul and the Chaghtai. But these two branches, on account of their mutual enmity, used to call each other by a special name, by way of depreciation. Thus the Chaghtai called the Moghul Jatah, while the Moghul called the Chaghtai Karawanas.”⁵

Now it is very difficult to determine with perfect accuracy the origin of the Qaraunahs.⁶ Colonel Yule in a highly learned and

⁴ Yule, *Travels*, I, p. 92.

⁵ Elias and Ross's translation, p. 148.

⁶ The term Qaraunah is frequently used in the history of the Ilkhans to denote a body of freebooters whose exact nationality it is not easy to decide. Von Hammer connects them with Karaun Jidun by which the Mongols knew the mountains separating the Gobi desert from China and Manchuria. One branch of the Turkish tribe settled in this country, says Von Hammer, is called Karanut by Rashid-ud-Din. D'ohsson thinks the Qaraunahs were the same as Nigudarians, but this view is doubted by Hammer and he seems to be correct. He has fallen into error because of the predatory habits of both tribes. Howorth says (III, p. 389) 'I am not at all certain that they are not to be identified with the Kara Tartars, who are mentioned in Khorasan at the break of the power of the Ilkhans.' The historians are indecisive but there is little doubt that the Qaraunahs were a predatory Turkish tribe.

elaborate note examines the statement of Marco Polo and comes to the conclusion that his account is a 'mistaken one.'⁷ Agreeing with Khanikoff he says that probably Marco Polo confounded the Qaraunahs with the Beluchis "whose Turanian aspect shows a strong infusion of Turki blood and who might be rudely described as a cross between Tartars and Indians." The Qaraunahs are often mentioned, he says, in the histories of the Mongol regime in Persia, first as a Mongol tribe forming a *tuman*, i.e., a division or corps of 10,000 in the Mongol army and afterwards as daring and savage freebooters scouring the Persian provinces, and having their headquarters in the eastern frontiers of Persia.⁸ Marco Polo also mentions the figure 10,000 in describing the Qaraunahs. Cordier, the learned annotator of Marco Polo's Travels, says, he was informed by a learned Goklan Mulla that the word Qarnas means *Tirandaz* or *Shikari* (i.e., archer or hunter) and was applied to this tribe of Mongols on account of their professional skill in shooting, which apparently secured them an important place in the army. In Turki the word Qarnas means *Shikam-parast*—literally, 'belly-worshipper'—which implies avarice. This term is in use at present, and Cordier was told by a Qazi of Bujnurd that it was sometimes used by way of reproach. The Qarnas people in Mana and Gurgan say it is the name of their tribe, and they give no other explanation.⁹ Better light is thrown on the subject by Ney Elias, the translator of the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, who caused enquiries to be made into the origin of the families of Qarnas by Mr. Maula Bakhsh Attache at the Meshed Consulate General. The Maula wrote to him: 'These people speak Turkish now, and are considered part of the Goklan Turkomans. They, however, say that they are *Changez Khani Moghuls*, and are no doubt the descendants of the same Qarnas or Qarauanahs, who took such a prominent part in the victories in Persia.'¹⁰

The Qaraunahs may have been originally connected with the Mughals in some way, but what has been said above is not enough to set at naught our Indian authorities who clearly state that

⁷ Yule, Travels of Marco Polo I, pp. 94—100.

⁸ *Ibid.*, I, Note 4, p. 94.

⁹ Ser Marco Polo, Notes and Addendum, p. 21. Redhouse's Turkish Dictionary gives (p. 698) Qarnas (قارناس) which means subtle or sly.

¹⁰ *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Appendix B, pp. 76-77.

Tughluq was a Qaraunah Turk. Maula Bakhsh's observations read together with Mirza Haider's remarks indicate the process of inter-fusion by which the Mongols rapidly became Turks. There may have been Mongol blood in the Qaraunahs as it was in the Chaghtai Turks, of whom Babar may be taken as a fair specimen, and Babar was a Mongol on his mother's side. Ibn Batūtah's informant was Shaikh Rukn-al-Din Multani, who knew the Sultan intimately, and we have no reason to disbelieve what he says. Later writers like Firishṭa and Sujān Rai Khatri following their immediate predecessors distinctly state that the father of Ghazi Malik (the name by which Ghiyas-al-Din was known in his earlier days) was a Turk. Sir Wolseley Haig's view that Ghiyas-al-Din's father came of the tribe of Turks now dwelling near Khotan and called by Sir Aurel Stein, in his *Ruins of Desert Cathay*: "Taghlik" may be accepted because it is in agreement with Ibn Batūtah. Ghazi Malik's hostility to the Mughals as is evidenced by his repeated attempts to drive them out of India, points to the predominance of Turkish blood in him. There is nothing in contemporary writers to indicate that there was anything of the Mongolian type in the features of the Tughluqs. Sultan Muhammad Tughluq is described as a handsome man and cultured scholar, whose urbanity struck all who came in contact with him, and in a rare portrait of Firuz which is available to us the features of that monarch seem to be more Turkish than Mongolian. All these facts go to prove that Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq was a Turk. Indeed, a more effective argument may be put forward by saying that Indian Turks who were fanatically hostile to the Mongols would not have unanimously elected him to the imperial throne, if they had not been convinced of his Turkish descent.

The dynasty is known by the name Tughluq.¹¹ What does the cognomen Tughluq signify? Sir Wolseley Haig had once expressed the opinion,¹² which he informed me in a private letter he had abandoned, that Tughluq was not the name of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq but a tribal cognomen, and argued that it was not necessary to describe the second ruler of the dynasty as Muhammad Bin Tughluq.¹³ But on this point the testimony of contemporary

¹¹ The word is variously spelt in English though in Persian and Turki it is always (تغلق) I have adhered to the form adopted by Sir Wolseley Haig.

¹² J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 321—'Article on Five Questions in the History of the Tughluq Dynasty of Dihli.'

¹³ J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 321.

authorities is conclusive. Tughluq was not an unfamiliar name in the middle ages. Such names were common among the Mughals as appears from the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, and sometimes dynasties were called after the names of their founders. The suggestion of the *Muhlaqāt* alluded to by Firishta that Qutlugh became Tughluq through frequent use by Indians seems to be incorrect. If it had been so, Muhammad Tughluq, who was a well-educated scholar, would have restored the original spelling of the word, as there is evidence to show that he was very careful about his coin legends. Besides, Tughluq and Qutlugh seem to have been carefully distinguished from each other, for Qutlugh Khan was a recognised title which was conferred upon Amirs by these Sultans. Muhammad Tughluq's tutor enjoyed the title of Qutlugh Khan. Ibn Batūtah and Barani both write Tughluq (تغلق) and they are supported by 'Afif, Yahyā, Nizam-al-Din, Abul-Fazl, Badaoni, Hajji-ad-Dabir and many others. Firishta in speaking of the origin of the dynasty writes that Malik Tughluq was the name of the father of Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq who was a slave of Sultan Balban. Now Firishta differs from other writers in one important particular. He alone speaks of the father of Ghiyas as a slave of Balban, while others (S. S. 'Afif included) say that the three brothers Rajab, Abu Bakr and Tughluq came from Khorasan and entered the service of Sultan 'Ala-al-Din Khilji.¹⁴ If Tughluq (Ghazi Tughluq) came with his brothers from Khorasan, how are we to explain the tradition that he was born of a Jat woman of the Punjab whom his father had married? The tradition need not be doubted, for among the Tughluqs there seems to have been no prejudice against such inter-marriages, and we have the instance of the marriage of Sultan Ghiyas's brother Rajab with Rana Mal Bhatti's daughter at the suggestion of the former. There is no mention of Tughluq or even Ghazi Malik in Barani's lists of the officers of Balban, Kaiqubad and Jalal-al-Din Khilji.¹⁵ In Barani's history we hear of him for the first time in the reign of 'Ala-al-Din Khilji, leading expeditions against the Mughals, Barani mentions Fakhr-al-Din Jūnā as occupying the

¹⁴ Afif writes :

المقعود چون این هر سه برادر تغلق و رجب و ابوبکر از ملک خراسان در دهلی
آمدند در آن ایام عهد دولت سلطان علاءالدین بود -

Cal. Text, p. 36.

¹⁵ Barani, Cal. Text, pp. 24, 126, 174.

office of *Dādbak*¹⁶ at the opening of the reign, and we read of his father Ghazi Beg Tughluq driving out of India the Mughals under Aibak Khan, an officer of Amir Daud Khan, ruler of Transoxiana, in 1305 A.D. eight years after 'Ala-al-Din's accession to the throne. It does not seem probable that both father and son should have secured 'Ala-al-Din's favour so quickly after their arrival from Khorasan, and then, neither Barani nor Ibn Batūtah, nor any other writer says that Tughluq also brought his son with him. The office of *Dādbak* was a highly responsible one, and 'Ala-al-Din would not have entrusted it to Juna, if he had been a newcomer. It appears that Ghazi Malik or Ghazi Beg Tughluq, for he is so variously styled by Muslim historian, had been in India for some years and had given proof of his abilities. Hajji-ad-Dabīr, relying upon a certain history of which he does not give the name, writes that the three brothers Sipahsalar Rajab, Abu Bakr and Ghazi came from Khorasan in the reign of Sultan 'Ala-al-Din Khilji. Ghazi was the eldest, and by virtue of his abilities rapidly rose in the Sultan's favour and finally became governor of Dipalpur.¹⁷ He gives neither the date of this work nor the name of its author, though after some discussion regarding internal evidence furnished by the work itself he concludes that the author was neither an 'Arab nor a Persian. Hajji-ad-Dabīr is supported by Ibn Batūtah and 'Afif. How are we to reconcile the discrepancy between these authorities and Firishta and the author of the *Khulāsat-ut-Tawarīkh*? Barani and Afif are contradicted by Amir Khusrau, another contemporary writer, who in his *Tughluqnamah*, which has now become available to us, writes that Ghazi Malik was in the service of Jalaluddin Khilji and Prince 'Ulugh Khan prior to entering the service of Sultan Alaaddin Khilji. When the crown of Delhi was offered to him after his victory over

¹⁶ This office corresponds to Mir 'Adl of the Mughals which corresponds to the Law Member of the present day.

¹⁷ Hājji-ad-Dabīr writes that when Tughluq was governor of Dipalpur he went one day to Baba Farid Ganj Shakar of Ajodhan (584—670 A.H.=1191—1271 A.D.), A piece of cloth was placed before him. He tore off 4½ yards from it and gave it to Ghazi, 27 yards to his son Muhammad and 40 yards to Firuz and told them that they would attain to royalty in the future. The length of the piece given to each represented the duration of the reign. Now the Shaikh cannot have been living in the time of 'Ala-al-Din for he died in 1271 A. D. Besides if the tradition were accepted Firuz would be eighty years of age at the time of his accession to the throne which is absurd. The incident to which the tradition refers seems to be chronologically impossible.

Khusrau, he reviewed his past career before the assembled nobles and told them that he had received great favours at the hands of Sultan Jalaluddin Khilji. This is not a mere casual mention for the nobles in recounting the brave deeds of Ghazi Malik made a special mention of his gallant fighting during the siege of Ranthambhor in the time of Jalaluddin Khilji. It appears from this account that Ghazi Malik who was a veteran warrior in 1320 was holding high offices long before Alauddin's time. Now that Barani's statement that Tughluq came from Khorasan in the reign of Alauddin Khilji is wrong it is possible that his father may have come in the time of Balban and married a Jat woman of the Punjab.

In a matter like this Firishta is preferable to 'Afif who was a court historian to Firuz Tughluq, inclined to suppress the fact of the low origin of his patron's dynasty, and to Ibn Batutah who may have carelessly written 'Ala-al-Din Khilji for Ghiyas-al-Din Balban. Besides, the latter wrote from memory, and a slip of this kind is not impossible particularly when one is writing long after the event took place and when no verification is possible in a distant land.

Born of an Indian mother, Ghazi Malik typified in his character the salient features of the two races—the modesty and mildness of the Hindu and the virility and vigour of the Turk. Again and again he had fought the Mughals and effectively guarded the frontiers of the empire. Ibn Batūtah has translated for us an inscription of Ghazi Malik, which he saw on the Jam-i-masjid at Multan, which records that he had defeated the Tartars on twenty-nine occasions and won the title of Malik-al-Ghazi.¹⁸ When 'Ali Beg and Khwajah Tash invaded Hindustan and ravaged Multan in 705 A.H. (1350 A.D.), and devastated the plains as far as the Sewalik range, Ghazi Beg led his forces against them and by vigorous attacks succeeded in defeating them. Later, when Iqbal Mandā another Mughal warrior, made his appearance in Hindustan, Ghazi Malik marched against him and inflicted a crushing defeat upon him. Periodically from his post at Dipalpur, situated in a highly important part of the empire, he used to advance at the head of a spirited corps to the frontiers of the Mughal territory, and throw the gauntlet of war before the Mughal leaders. The provinces of Kabul, Qandhar, Ghazni and Gurumseer were ravaged, and the inhabitants were subjected to a heavy blackmail. These repeated encounters

¹⁸ I.B., III, p. 202; Also Barani, Cal. Text, p. 416.

with the Mughals, attended by unprecedented success, established the fame of Ghazi Malik as a redoubtable captain of war all over Hindustan and Khorasan. The dynastic revolution which occurred at Dihli in 720 A.H. gave Ghazi Malik the opportunity to carve out a career for himself.

Khusrau's plot succeeded well enough, and after the murder of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Khilji he ascended the throne in the palace

Ghazi Malik secures the throne.

of the *Hazar-sitūn* under the title of Nāsir-al-Din some time in 720 A.H. Though himself a Hindu convert, he assumed after the traditional manner of Muslim kings the title of *Amir-al-muminin*, as is testified by his coinage.¹⁹ The date of his assumption of royalty is given neither by Barani nor by Ibn Batūtah. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives 5th Rabi I, 721 A.H., which Firishta copies, though Briggs makes it into 25th Rabi I, 721 A.H., which is either a misprint or a mistake due to some defective text. Badaoni and Hajji accept 720 A.H. There are no coins of Khusrau, dated 721 A.H., but there are coins of Ghiyas bearing the date 720 A.H., which shows that he assumed the sceptre in that year.²⁰ There is another difficulty in accepting the date given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Khusrau reigned only for four months and a few days, and if we accept 1st Sha'ban, 721 A.H. as the date of Ghiyas's accession to the throne, the duration of Khusrau's reign would be from Rabi I, 721 A.H. till the end of Rajab, 721 A.H. which is in conflict with numismatic evidence.

Soon after the assumption of royalty, Khusrau, according to Muslim chroniclers, inaugurated a reign of terror and put to death the friends and attendants of the former Sultan. Some of the most distinguished nobles of the empire were murdered in their homes, while others were brought into the palace by means of guile and treachery and beheaded. Their wives and daughters were given to the *Parwaris*,²¹ or Barwārs

¹⁹ N. Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, p. 47, Coin No. 270.

²⁰ N. Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II, p. 48, Nos. 282, 293, 294.

Thomas, Chronicles, p. 191.

²¹ The Calcutta text of Barani calls Khusrau a Barwar (بروار). The Bankipur, India Office, and Buhar MSS. have Barao bacchah (براو باچا). Ibn Batutah simply says (III, p. 197) he was originally a Hindu. Amir Khusrau writes Barādū and says that they are men of great courage and are ever ready to lay down their

disgrace.²² Qazi Zia-al-Din's house was raided and given to Randhol, though his wife and children succeeded in effecting their escape. The associates of the Parvenu were richly rewarded; Randhol²³ was given the title of Raya Rayan, and Hisām-al-Din was made *Khan-i-Khanan*, and Baha-al-Din who had been his confederate and ally received the title of Azam-al-Mulk. Yusuf Sufi became Sufi Khan, 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani 'Alam Khan, and the title of Hatim Khan was conferred upon Ikhtiyar-al-Din Sambal. Kamāl-al-Din Kūfi was appointed *Vakil-i-dar*²⁴ and Malik Juna, son of Ghazi Malik

such as the "Parmar" Rajputs were. This read together with the statement of the *Tarih-i-Mubarak Shahi* that Hasan was captured by the Muhammadans during the sack of Malwa may seem to lend support to the view that Hasan was originally a Rajput, but it is difficult to get over Barani's testimony who emphatically says that he was a low-born menial. Then, the author of the *Tarih-i-Mubarak Shahi* also states that there was defect in his caste. Besides, Hajji-ad-Dabir who had a special knowledge of the history of Gujarat does not say that Hasan was originally a Rajput. Like Barani he also describes him as a filthy outcast and pours ridicule upon him. There is an ugly and repulsive side of Khusrāu's character, condemned by all historians which is thoroughly un-Rajputlike.

²² Firishta writes:—

ساتان قاتل الدين ديول ديوي منكره خضر خان را داخل حرم ساخت

Badaoni simply says Khusrāu Khan took to himself in marriage, the chief wife of the Sultan. Hajji-ad-Dabir supports Firishta. Barani is silent on the subject, but Amir Khusrāu, a contemporary writer, (*Ashiqi*, Elliot III, p. 555) says that her hands were cut off, while she was clinging to the body of her husband who was murdered by the order of Mubarak and that she was left among the slain.

²³ Edward Thomas is wrong in speaking of her as the enforced wife of two succeeding Sultans of Dihli, one of the brothers and murderers of her husband and the other the foul *pariah* Khusrāu. In a matter like this Amir Khusrāu's testimony is more reliable, for he was specially interested in Deval Rani and Khizr Khan, and her fate must have been known to him. It seems probable that she escaped indignity at the hands of the Parwari. Her Rajput pride would have surely kicked at such a union. Before slaying Khizr Khan, Qutb-al-Din sent word to him that he would make him governor of a province, if he sent Deval Rani to him but he refused. Qutb-al-Din became angry at this.

²⁴ Hajji-ad-Dabir writes Ratdhol.

²⁵ The word is variously written in various texts. Some have *Vakil-i-dar*, others *Vakil-al-dar* and *Vakildar*. Briggs is right in adopting the form *Vakil-i-dar*. Major Raverty (*Tabqat-i-Nasiri* I, p. 694) discusses at length the meaning of *Vakil-i-dar* and says that *Wakil-i-dar* and *Wakil-i-darbar* are equivalent. This seems to be incorrect. Ibn Batūtah distinctly says (III, p. 196) that the *Vakil-i-dar* held the keys of the palace.* Barani supports Ibn Batūtah. There is no resemblance whatsoever between the *Vakil-i-dar* and *Vakil* of Mughal times.

* Qazi Zia-al-Din, tutor of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah Khilji held this office and used to keep the keys of the royal palace.

appointing him to the office of *Amir-i-Ākhur* (master of the horse). But he secretly brooded over the wrongs done to the house of 'Ala-al-Din and planned ways and means to effect the overthrow of the Parwaris. Juna communicated all that had happened to his father Ghazi Malik at Dipalpur, who asked him to place no reliance upon the wretch and to avoid all contact with him. The veteran warrior was moved with indignation when he heard of Khusrau's atrocities and outrages. He 'writhed like a snake' and swore to wreak vengeance upon the Parwaris who had stained their hands with the blood of the family of his patron, and who had defiled Islam and destroyed its power. But the safety of his son who was a Court noble required that he should proceed with caution. Ghazi Malik bided his time and began to mature his plans for the speedy and effective overthrow of the usurpers.

Juna was not reconciled to the newly established government, and, in a position of unusual embarrassment, he continued to confer daily with the leading nobles of 'Ala-al-Din to devise means of Khusrau's overthrow. Neither the attention of Khusrau nor the prospect of official honours served to dissipate his sombre broodings. After two months and a half his patience was exhausted. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writes that he was asked by Khusrau to take out for a ride the 'Arab horses who had become too fat, and he is supported by Ibn Batūtah.²⁶ He seized this opportunity, and one day at the time of afternoon prayer he left the Court with Bahram Aiba's son rode post-haste in the direction of Dipalpur. As soon as his flight was known to Khusrau, he was filled with dismay, and forthwith a small contingent of nobles, headed by the son of Qara Qimar, who was the commander of the royal forces, was dispatched to overtake the disaffected Amir. But Fakhr-al-Din continued his march the whole night and next day, eluded the grasp of his pursuers, and reached Sirsuti²⁷ in safety. Before his arrival his father had already sent there Muhammad Sartabā at the head of 200 horse from Dipalpur to occupy and garrison the fortress in anticipation of the coming danger. Freed from anxiety on the score of his son, Ghazi Malik vowed vengeance upon Khusrau and began to

²⁶ Ibn Batutah III, p. 204.

²⁷ Sirsuti, the modern Satsa is mentioned by Ibn Batutah as a big town where rice was abundantly grown. It was situated on the bank of the river Sirsuti. Ibn Batutah III, pp. 142-43. Sirsa is mentioned in the *Ain*, Jarrett II, pp. 105, 281, 294, 326.

make preparations for an encounter with the Hindus. He issued a circular letter to all the nobles of the empire appealing to them for assistance. With a few exceptions the most notable of which was Maghalati, the governor of Multan, who did not like to play the second fiddle to Ghazi Malik, the nobles expressed their willingness to join the confederacy. But the people disapproved of Maghalati's conduct and turned against him.

He sought refuge in flight. But he was arrested and killed by his men. The people of Siwistan compelled their Amir, Muhammad Shah, to join forces with those of Ghazi Malik. Strangely enough, 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani adopted an attitude of neutrality and offered to pay homage to the man who acquired possession of Dihli. Khusrau Khan was informed of these proceedings by Malik Lakhi, governor of Samana, who forgot the injuries that he had received at his hands, and gave his adhesion to the party in power. The Malik marched towards Dipalpur, but he was overpowered by Ghazi Malik and was finally killed by the people of Samana. This news alarmed Khusrau, and he began to organise his forces. The command of the army was conferred on him. Suf Khan surnamed Yusuf Sufi. Both were inexperienced men, and the task of opposing a warrior, whose might had made the Mughals of Khorasan and Mughalistan tremble, was without doubt beyond their capacity. The army of Dihli, demoralised by indolence and debauchery, was no match for the sturdy Muslims who followed in the wake of Ghazi Malik, and to whom the present war, seemed to be nothing short of a *Jihad*. Lack of experienced generalship, added to want of discipline, made the cause of Khusrau from the outset hopeless. They marched towards Sirsuti, but having failed to capture it they proceeded towards Dipalpur to encounter Ghazi Malik. The latter had just been reinforced by Bahram Aiba, governor of Ucch, who joined with horse and foot to assist the cause of justice. He marched from Dipalpur, passed by the town of Dabhali²⁸ and taking the river in the rear encamped in an open field between Sirsuti and Dipalpur.

²⁸ It is Dalili (دلیلی) in Barani, (p. 416). The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* says, the battle was fought near *Hauz Bahati* or Bahali. Major Raverty quoting from some text of Barani (J. A. S. B., 1892, Pt. I, p. 2623) writes Zabhalī (ذہالی) He translates Barani's text thus: 'Ghazi Malik, leaving Dipalpur passed the qasbah of Dabhali and with the river in his rear, he encountered them. Major Raverty, commenting on this writes that the river is not named, but the place here mentioned lies between Dipalpur and Sirsuti or Sirsa, thirty-six miles

Barani and Ibn Batūtah as well as all later writers speak of two battles between Ghazi Malik and the forces of Dihli—one of which was a preliminary engagement in the plain above referred to and the other near the *Hauz Khas*,²⁰ in which Khusrau himself led his men. The two armies drew themselves in battle array and each side began to plan dexterous manœuvres to overpower the other. The rickety forces of Khusrau were utterly routed and fled in confusion. Much baggage, elephants and treasure fell into the hands of the victors, and a good many of the vanquished, besides the wounded and the killed, were made prisoners. The raw youths, to whom Khusrau had entrusted the supreme command, fled from the field of battle, panic-stricken, and conveyed to their master the news of the disaster that had befallen them. To all appearance, the cause of the Parwarīs was doomed and they were so frightened that hardly any life was left in their bodies.

After the battle was over, Ghazi Malik remained for seven days on the field of battle, obviously to organise his forces for a determined bout of action with the 'infidels.' Having possessed himself of considerable spoil, the victorious general commenced his march towards Dihli to deal a decisive blow. He encamped at Indarpat near the tomb of Raziyah. Reduced to sore straits, Khusrau began to look for help in all quarters. Like one "despised by fortune or worsted in gambling," he brought out all the treasures from Kilughari and Dihli. All records and account books were burnt, and the exchequer was emptied to win the support of the army. He gave the soldiers two-and-a-half years' pay in advance and showered gifts recklessly to prevent defection in the royal army. But this prodigality proved of no avail; the soldiers, who knew that Ghazi Malik's cause was just and righteous, accepted his gold, but gave up all intention of fighting against him, and quietly betook to

to the westwards of Uboh-har (Abuhar) and stands on the bank of the oldest channel of the Sutlej, called in the maps 'the eastern "Naiwal" and "Nyewal."'

Dalili or Zabhalī is not mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. According to Badaoni this battle was fought near the reservoir of Thanesar but the T. M.'s version is different. The *Hauz Bahati* is a name probably connected with Barani's Dalili or Raverty's Zabhalī. The place of the first battle cannot be near Thanesar. [Ranking, I, p. 293 (note 5)].

²⁰ I.B. describes the *Hauz Khas* (حوض خاص) as a large reservoir between Dihli and the capital—larger than the *Hauz Shamsi*. There are 40 domes on its banks and around it live musicians (اهل طرب) and for this reason it is called City of Music (طرب آباد) I.B. III, p. 155.

their homes. Khusrau, in great perplexity and fear, held council with the chiefs of the army, and employed every device of which his artful nature was capable to attach them to his cause, but nothing availed to infuse hope and enthusiasm into the army. The soldiers openly said that to fight Ghazi Malik was to fight against the army of Islam, and they were troubled by no scruples in deserting a cause which was foredoomed to failure.

Having summoned his nobles and allies, Khusrau left Siri and encamped on the ground near the Hauz 'Alai not far from Indarpat. He occupied a position of great advantage, well fortified on all sides ; in front of him were groves and walled gardens to shield him from the enemy's attack, and in the rear was the citadel of old Dihli, where he could find a ready shelter and supply of provisions in the event of danger. When all preparations had been made, news was brought to Khusrau, on the eve of the day of battle, of the defection of 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani who had secretly left for Ujjain and Dhar. Khusrau's courage failed him, and his heart sank as he surveyed the prospect that lay before him. Ghazi Malik set his forces in order and with his army advanced to the plain of Lohrawat³⁰ to meet the army of Dihli. The Parwaris with those Musalmans, who preferred wealth and position to honour and conscience, had repaired to this place with their elephants and horses. A sharp engagement followed in which Khusrau's men were defeated. Malik Talbagha Nagori, whose constant fidelity to the parvenu had led him to brave great risks, was completely overpowered, and his head was brought to Ghazi Malik. The son of Qara Qimar who enjoyed the title of Shaysta Khan, when he saw the day going against his party, withdrew from the army and decided to flee from the field of battle. On his way to Indarpat, he fell upon the army of Ghazi Malik and plundered its baggage. But the battle raged fiercely, and the Dihlwis in spite of the treachery of Shaysta fought with great gallantry till evening. This heroic effort put the old warrior on his mettle ; he gathered his followers and comrades and appealed to them to fight with all their strength. Loyalty assisted by the officers and the rank and file, who looked upon this war as a *Jihad*, he dashed in full vigour and charged the centre of the army of Dihli. Driven to extremities, Khusrau and his men fought with

³⁰ This village cannot be traced. But Lohrawat of Barani was situated between the *Hauz Khas* and Dihli.

desperate courage and for a short while successfully withstood the attacks of their valiant foes. Barani like an orthodox Muslim gives a highly disparaging account of Khusrau's conduct in battle, but the author of the *Tughluq-namah* gives him credit for bravery. Nizam-al-Din, unlike Barani, gives his due even to an unclean Parwari. Even Badaoni, a man of strong clerical bias, admires the gallantry with which Khusrau and his men fought in battle. Firishta joins in the praise and says, Khusrau's army opposed the confederates with great bravery. Ibn Batūtah says, Khusrau was a brave and spirited man and fought with great courage against his enemies. He goes so far as to say that before his assault Tughluq's army fled, and his camp was plundered, and he is substantially corroborated by the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* which is an earlier authority than the *Tabqāt*. The forlorn hope of the Dihli army, despite the heavy odds arrayed against them, continued to fight with stubborn courage, but when Ghazi Malik at the head of his brave 300 fell like a solid rock upon them, their strength was exhausted, and their defeat was easily turned into a miserable rout. Khusrau made his escape from the field of battle and arrived at Tilpat³¹, all his followers having been wounded or killed. Barani writes that he concealed himself in the garden of Malik Shadi, an 'Alai noble, a former patron of his and there he lay crouching in abject fear. The *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* and the *Tabqāt* support Barani, though Hajji-ad-Dabīr writes tomb instead of garden.

Ibn Batūtah writes that the fugitive concealed himself in a garden, but he does not mention the name of Malik Shādi. Ghazi Malik's victory was decisive. It was a victory of the supremely able man over the discordant and helpless many. The Parwarīs were slain in the markets and streets of the city wherever they were found, and the victorious army seized their horses and arms from them. Most of them fled towards Gujarat and many of them were put to

³¹ Tilpat is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the *Sarkar* of Dihli. It still survives about 10 miles S. E. of the Qutb Minar. Ibn Batutah mentions it as a village seven or eight miles from Dihli on the Dihli-Mathura road. Jarrett II, p. 104.

Tieffenthaler, I, p. 132.

Ibn Batutah, IV, p. 5.

Beam's Edition of Elliot's Glossary, II, p. 123.

death by Ghazi Malik's excited soldiery on the road. Next day Khusrau was discovered in the garden where he had concealed himself and by the order of Ghazi Malik he was beheaded.³² His supporters were diligently traced out and met the fate which, according to Barani, they so richly merited. The Khan-i-Khanan, the commandant of the forces of Dihli, lay crouching in a garden to save his life, but he was caught by Fakhr-al-Din and was ordered to be mutilated and paraded through the streets of Dihli. The contemporary historian writes with great exultation: "Islam was rejuvenated and a new life came into it. The clamour of infidelity sank to the ground. Men's minds were satisfied and their hearts felt contented."³³ The chiefs and nobles of the empire greeted Ghazi Malik and tendered their fealty to him.³⁴ Master of the situation, he did not find much difficulty in making short work of his enemies and proceeded from Indarpat to Siri and seated himself in the palace

³² Barani simply says (Text, pp. 420-21) Khusrau was killed. The T. M. says, Khusrau fled with a few officers. The ~~main~~ ^{next} ~~text~~ ^{are} :—

خسرو خان منہزم شد^{۱۲} ب : the weakness of
 خود سرور کم رفتہ -
 وہما نہجا تلف شدہ - غازی ملک مظفر و منصور در پردہ خویش
 فروں آمد

Nizam-al-Din, Badaoni, Firishta and Hajji all agree in saying that he was captured, brought before Ghazi Malik and ordered to be beheaded.

Ibn Batūtah has given a different account of Khusrau's death which seems to have based entirely upon hearsay. According to him, Khusrau remained concealed tormented by hunger. He gave a ring of his to the gardener to fetch something from the market to eat. When the garden-people saw a precious ring in the possession of a gardener, their suspicion was roused. They took him to the Kotwal and the latter took him to Tughluq. Fakhr-al-Din was sent to arrest him. When he was brought before Ghazi Malik, he said that he was hungry whereupon the latter ordered his men to supply drink and food for him. When he had taken his food he asked Tughluq to treat him as became a king on which the old warrior ordered him to be decapitated. Ibn Batutah's account savours of a myth, and it is quite probable that he may have found this popular explanation of Khusrau's death current in Hindustan on his arrival.

³³ Barani, Calcutta text, p. 423.

³⁴ Ibn Batūtah relates that Ghazi Malik asked Kishlu Khan to accept the crown, but he refused. When Ghazi Malik thus expressed his unwillingness, Kishlu Khan told him that if he persisted in his refusal, they would place upon the throne his son Muhammad,—a thing which was unacceptable to Ghazi Malik. This account, if correct will explain the motive of Prince Juna in bringing about the death of the old Emperor.

Ibn Batutah, III, p. 206.

of the *Hazarsitun* which had been profaned by the Bacchanalian revels of Mubarak and his hench-men. He received the felicitations of the assembled nobles who offered him the keys of the palace and the insignia of sovereignty. The date 1st Shā'ban, 721 A.H. given by Yahyā and copied by Firishta is incorrect as has been previously explained. Though *de facto* master of the Sultanate of Dihli, Ghazi Malik shrank from the burden of the kingly office. He did not behave like a rapacious *condottiere* and had no desire to grasp the power which he had acquired by the force of his arms. To mark his respect for the family of 'Ala-al-Din he performed the obsequies of the scions of the royal house, who had perished at the hands of the usurpers, and with a full sense of his obligations and responsibilities he addressed the assembled nobles in these words:

"I am one of those who have been brought up under Sultans . . .

'Ala-al-Din and Qutb-al-Din, and it is the sentiment of loyalty which is ingrained in my nature, that has prompted me to wash my life, and to strike my sword at the enemies and exterminators of my patrons. ~~Barani writes that he~~ to the best of my power."

"Ye are the distinguished nobles ~~of the empire~~. If there is any survivor of the stock of my patrons, living at this time, bring him forth immediately so that I may instal him on the throne and tender to him my devotion and fealty. But if the line of 'Ala-al-Din and Qutb-al-Din has been completely extinguished by the enemies, ye, who are the elders of the past as well as the present regime, place on the throne some one whom you consider worthy of the honours of royalty. I will render unto him my loyal obeisance."

"I have drawn my sword to avenge the death of my patrons and not to gain power and kingdom. I have not imperilled my life and property, my wife, and children for the acquisition of the throne. What I have done, I have done with the motive of avenging the murderers of my patrons."

The nobles informed him that no scion of Ala-al-Din's house had been left alive by the usurpers, and they dwelt upon the confusion and disorder that prevailed in the empire owing to the strife stirred up everywhere by the murder of the king and the ascendancy of the Hindus. With one voice they appealed to him in these words:

"O Ghazi Malik! for years past thou hast shielded us against the attacks of the Mughals, and effectively put an end to their incursions in our country. By these

meritorious services thou hast established a claim upon our loyalty. This memorable deed of yours will be recorded in History ; thou hast emancipated the faithful from the galling yoke of the Hindus and the Parwaris ; thou hast avenged the death of thy patrons and benefactors, and for this great service the nobles as well as the commonalty of the realm are deeply beholden to thee. We know none who is better fitted to assume sovereignty than thyself."

Taking Ghazi Malik by the hand, they placed him upon the throne, and in response to the united prayer of the well-wishers of the empire, he assumed the sceptre under the title of Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq Shah, and received the homage of all parties. The election of a plebeian to the imperial office demonstrated in an unmistakable manner the democratic spirit of Islam and reaffirmed the principle of the survival of the fittest, which dominated and controlled the Muslim state in India in the 13th and 14th centuries.

The vast empire of 'Ala-al-Din had been reduced to small dimensions owing to the weakness of the central power. The provincial satraps and the half-subdued Hindu Rajas and chieftains had begun to assert their independence. The Doab was under the authority of the Dihli Sultanate, but during the period of confusion which lasted from the death of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah to the assumption of royal power by Ghazi Malik, a tendency to shake off the yoke of Dihli was clearly discernible. Khusrau's usurpation of royal authority was a revival of Hindu ascendancy, but his regime was too short to allow full scope to Hindu ambitions. Besides, the 'Alai nobles kept watch and ward over the territories that lay near the capital of the empire in the Gangetic valley and held in check the forces of disruption. But in the outlying provinces of the empire the reactionary forces had strengthened the hands of local despots and seriously diminished the authority of the Central Government.

The Punjab had always been the most vulnerable part of the empire of Dihli. The Mughals had harried its plains again and again and inflicted untold misery upon the people. Every year at the head of myriad hosts they poured into that unfortunate country and caused enormous loss of life and property. Balban and 'Ala-al-Din

Political condition of India in 720 A.H.

The Punjab and Sindh.

had strained every nerve to create an effective barrier against their recurring raids. The two outposts of Multan and Depalpur were maintained to guard the frontier, and the present ruler had held the post of the Lord of the Marches at Depalpur for a long time. But the Punjab as a whole was not yet definitely included in the empire of Dihli, for the Mughals, who had settled there, had a tendency to look back to their ancestral homes. Revolts and intrigues were too common amongst them, and vigorous measures were needed to keep in check their turbulent spirit. Besides, the Khokhars³⁵ and other tribes who had not emerged out of their primitive state were always ready to stir up strife and insurrection. Sindh had been conquered by 'Ala-al-Din and soon after his accession he had placed Nusrat Khan in charge of Ucch, Bhakkar, Siwistan and Thatta with ten thousand horse with a view to establish order in the province. The province was afterwards given to Ghazi Malik along with Multan and Ucch as a jagir with ten thousand horses under his command. As long as 'Ala-al-Din lived, he held the local tribes in check, and the sovereignty of Dihli was in the south of Sindh more real and effective than before. When the Sumrah chief Amar, son of Rai Dūdā, called 'Umar by Muham-

³⁵ The Khokhars are distinct from the Gakkars. They are a tribe found among Jats, Rajputs, Arians and Chuhars. As a tribe of varying Rajput and Jat status, the Khokhars are most numerous along the valleys of the Jhelum and the Chenab, and especially in the Jhang and Shahpur districts. They are also found on the lower Indus and the Sutlej, especially in Lahore and also all along the foot of the hill from the Jhelum to the Sutlej. The Khokhars were originally Hindus and many Hindu customs are still preserved among them. Mr. J. G. Delmerick in an article contributed to the *Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1871 confounded the Khokhars with the Gakkars. Firishta invariably makes the same confusion. Major Raverty writes in a note in his translation of the *Tabqat-i-Nasiri* that there are still some 20,000 families of Khokhars in the Punjab. They are found in the Multan district and districts further to the north-west, towards the Indus in the Sind Sagar Doab. The Gakkars are still further northwards. Mr. Denzil Ibbetson writes in his '*Punjab Castes*' that the Khokhars are ordinarily considered a Rajput tribe though some of them call themselves Jats also. The Gakkars according to him are the ancient rulers of the northern portion of the Cis-Indus Salt range tract, just as are the Awans and Janjuas of the southern portion of the same tract and it appears probable that at one time they overran Kashmir. For a detailed account of the Khokhars and Gakkars see the following. A glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab compiled by H. A. Rose, Vol. II, pp. 539—549. (For a History of Gakkars, pp. 274—77.)

Raverty, *Tabqat-i-Nasiri*, Translated, I, p. 455. Denzil Ibbetson, *Punjab Castes*, pp. 165—69, 172-73. J. Delmerick's article in the *J. A. S. B.*, 1871, pp. 67—107.

madan writers, carried off the wife of an Arab Chief Umar the Tammimi, the injured husband appealed to 'Ala-al-Din for redress. The emperor summoned Amar Sumrah and the latter, knowing full well the consequences of disobedience, obeyed the imperial mandate. He was cast in prison and it was long afterwards through the intercession of powerful friends that he regained his liberty in 1305-06 A.D. 'Ala-al-Din's death seriously affected the unity of the empire, but Ghazi Malik successfully contended against the forces of reaction. When he left Depalpur to fight against Khusrau in 720 A.H. (1320 A.D.) the tribe of Sumrah got their long-desired opportunity and their chief Amar recovered possession of lower Sindh.³⁶ He seized Thatta and declared his independence. Ghiyās-al-Din placed Multan in charge of Taj-al-Din, Bhakkar under Khwajah Khatir and Siwistan under Malik 'Ali Sher, but it does not appear that the Sumrahs were dislodged from the position they had occupied, and though Sindh was treated as a part of the empire, the imperial authority had suffered a collapse at least in the southern part of the province.

'Ala-al-Din's sway had been confined to the principal towns from Jalor and Patan in the north to Broach and Surat in the south, and at times owing to the determined opposition of the Hindu chiefs, the Musalmans "possessed little more than the encamping ground of their armies." After the fall of the Baghela Rajputs, Gujarat continued to be a fief of the empire of Dihli for a little more than a century and Patan and Anhilwad became the seat of the imperial government. Far away from the headquarters, the imperial governors did what they pleased and made a discretionary use of the civil and military authority entrusted to them. They seized the property of Hindu and Jain temples, destroyed their shrines, and built mosques in their places."³⁷ Muslim domination galled the pride of the Rajputs who carried on a desperate struggle for their liberation. The

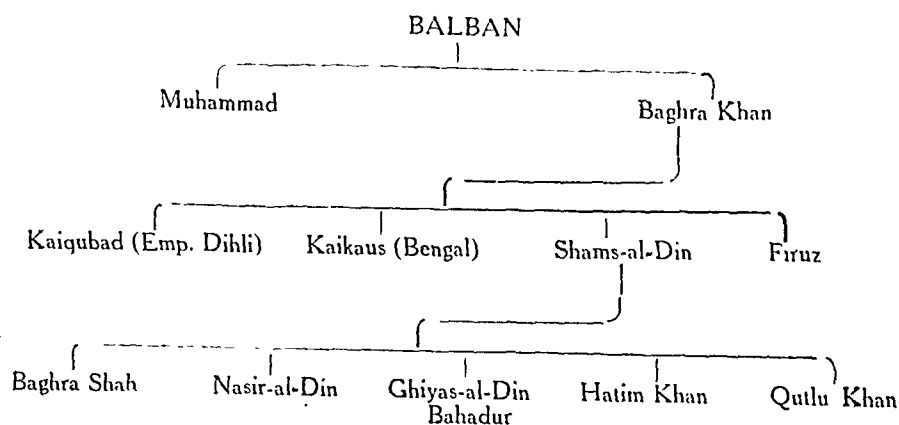
³⁶ Malet, History of Sindh, A translation of the *Tarikh-i-Masumi*, p. 32. Tuhfat-al-Kiram, Elliot I, p. 341. Gazetteer of Sind, p. 95. Gazetteer of the Province of Sind, p. 96. The origin of the Sumrahs has been ably and exhaustively discussed by Elliot in a long note. The Sumrahs were originally Hindus as the names of most of them signify. The title of Jam adopted by them is further evidence of their Hindu origin. This is the view accepted by Elliot and Elphinstone Elliot I, pp. 483—94, Jarett, Ain-i-Akbari, II, pp. 341—345. Elphinstone, History of India, pp. 304, 749, edited by Cowell.

³⁷ Burgess, Archæological Survey of Western India, IX, p. 18.

descendants of Khengar in Surashtra, the Rathors of Idar, and the Gohils of Champanir in the East kept up a heroic struggle for their independence, and in the central region a large tract of land was occupied by the descendants of Karan, the last of the Baghelas. During the reign of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah, Zafar Khan, who was an able and experienced man, brought about the complete subjugation of the country; the revenue was properly realised and the *rais* and *muqaddams* were made to yield obedience. But Mubarak, whimsical as he was, determined to take the life of Zafar Khan, 'who had committed no offence' and this wanton murder caused disturbances in the whole province.³⁸ The governorship of Gujarat was, after his death, conferred upon Hisām-al-Din, Khusrau's half-brother, but he was soon removed owing to his unpopularity, and his place was taken by Malik Wahīd-al-din Quraishi. When Mubarak met his death at the hands of Khusrau, Gujarat was in a neglected condition. Naturally, the Dihli politics absorbed the attention of the distinguished generals and statesmen of the realm, and Khusrau was too busy with measures to buttress up his tottering power to turn his attention to the affairs of Gujarat. The usual laxity of administration prevailed, and the governors and the people of Gujarat seem to have been left pretty much to themselves.

The province of Bengal like the Deccan, had a tendency to revolt against the authority of Dihli. It was far from being a loyal appanage of the empire, and the governors of Bengal always tried to shake off the yoke of Dihli and set up their own independent power. The history of

³⁸ Barani, p. 395. Mirat-i-Ahmadi, Bayley's Local Muhammadan Dynasties of Gujarat, p. 40.



Bengal during the period is shrouded in obscurity, and out of the fragmentary materials available to us, it is difficult to construct a complete and connected account of the rulers of that province in the 14th century. The Muhammadan historians were so imperialistic in their outlook that they paid but scant regard to the annals of a dependent province. Balban had entrusted Bengal, after the revolt of Tughril Beg in 1283 A.D., to his son Mahmud surnamed Baghra Khan who was succeeded by his younger son Rukn-al-Din Kaikaus who assumed the position of a local Sultan in 697 A.H. although he still professed allegiance to Dihli.³⁹ Shams-al-din Firuz, younger brother of Kaikaus, established himself as Sultan of Bengal, and issued coins from Lakhnauti and Sonargaon.⁴⁰ He was more ambitious than his predecessors and, unlike the other rulers of his house, he does not expressly mention the fact of his descent from Balban on his coins. It seems, Bengal shared in the general confusion that followed the death of 'Ala-al-Din and practically cut itself off from Dihli thus enabling Shams-al-Din Firuz to exercise

³⁹ This is the genealogical tree of the Balbani kings of Bengal. Thomas does not mention Hatim Khan in his table, but his existence is proved by inscriptions. He was governor of Magadh territories between 709—15 A.H. (1309—15 A.D.). The two inscriptions of Hatim Khan contain these dates. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 148. J. A. S. B., *Proceedings*, 1871, p. 246.

Kaikaus was a grandson of Balban, a fact which is supported by Amir Khusrau and Ibn Batutah. An inscription dated 697 A.H. of Kaikaus found among the ruins at Ganga Rampur near Dinajpur clearly shows that Kaikaus was the son of Muhammad, son of the emperor. Edward Thomas has given a translation of the inscription in his *Chronicles*, p. 149. For coins of Kaikaus see Thomas, *Chronicles*, pp. 49, 193, 194. J. A. S. B., 1860, p. 234. Mr. Stapleton thinks that Kaikaus possibly issued his first coin in 690 A.H. This date is to be found on Bengal coin No. 8 of the Indian Museum Cabinet the inscription on which runs thus:—This silver coin was struck at (Hazrat) Lakhnauti from (?) the land tax of Banga in the year 690 A.H. But we must note that issuing a coin and assuming the position of a Sultan are two different things J. A. S. B., 1922, XVIII, pp. 410-11. It is clear from an inscription from Sylhet that Shams-al-din Firuz was ruler of Bengal at least in the year 703 A.H. for the inscription says that "The first conquest (of Sylhet) by Islam of the town 'Arsah Srihat was by the hand of Sikandar Khan Ghazi, in the time of Sultan Firuz Shah Dihli in the year 703." A facsimile of this inscription has been published in the J. A. S. B., XVIII, 1922, p. 413.

⁴⁰ Ibn Batutah speaks of the relationship between Shams-al-Din Firuz and Nasir-al-Din, IV, pp. 210—13. He writes:—"In reality the Sultan of Bengal was Nasir-al-Din whose son Mu'iz-al-Din was Emperor of Dihli. After his death Shams-al-Din became king and after him Shihab-al-Din who was overpowered by Ghiyas-al-Din Bura, IV, p. 213

his authority over Bengal. But numismatic evidence leads us to the conclusion that his sons Shihab-al-Din, Baghra Shah and Ghiyas-al-Din Bahadur Shah had revolted against the authority of their father during his lifetime and issued their own coins. Ghiyas-al-Din Bahadur Shah made conquests in Eastern Bengal and established his sway at Sonargaon under the title of Bahadur Shah as far back as the year 711-12 A.H. (1311-12 A.D.). Shams-al-Din Firuz was still living when his son Bahadur Shah ruled at Sonargaon and he died probably in the year 722 A.H. (1322 A.D.) as is evidenced by his coins. The conflicting numismatic evidence creates a positive difficulty in settling the chronology of these rulers with exactitude, for coins of the same year, issued from the same places, bear the names of Shams-al-Din Firuz, Shihab-al-Din Baghra Shah and Ghiyas-al-Din Bahadur.⁴¹ Shams-al-Din Firuz died about 722 A.H., and was succeeded by his eldest son Shihāb-al-Dīn Baghrā Shāh who declared himself ruler of Bengal and established his authority at Lakhnauti, but he and his brother Nasir-al-Din were expelled from Lakhnauti in 719 or 720 A.H. (1319-20) by Bahadur who became the undisputed ruler of Bengal as his coins testify. Nothing is known of Hātim

⁴¹ Shams-al-Din Firuz, according to Blochmann, died in 717-18 (1317-18 A.D.) and was succeeded by his eldest son Baghra Shah who was defeated and expelled by Bahadur Shah. But this does not seem to be correct, for there are silver coins of Shams-al-Din Firuz issued from Lakhnauti, bearing the dates 720 and 722 A.H. Blochmann's *Geography and History of Bengal*, J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 289; Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 140. Thomas, *Initial Coinage of Bengal*, p. 45. J. A. S. B. 1922, XVIII, p. 420.

Ibn Batūtah (III, pp. 209-10) after narrating the rebellion in the Deccan in 721-22 A.H. says, that the fugitive Amirs (who had deserted Sultan Muhammad) fled to Shams-al-Din, son of Sultan Nāsir-al-Din, son of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Balban and established themselves at his court at Lakhnauti. Stewart's statement, (p. 75) that Bahadur was appointed to Eastern Bengal by 'Ala-ḍ-Ḍin Muhammad in 709 A.H. is not supported by numismatic evidence.' That Bahadur issued coins even in the life-time of his father is beyond doubt. There are coins of Bahadur struck at Lakhnauti, Ghiyaspur and Sonargaon during 710-31 A.H.—^{OR} a fact which shows that Bahadur was master of Lakhnauti during the years 720 and 728 A.H. There was a break in 725 A.H. when Bahadur was brought as a captive to Dihli by Tughluq Shah, but he was restored again by Muhammad on his accession to the throne. Lane-Poole, *Catalogue of Indian Coins*, p. 27. The coins of Shams-al-Din are also issued from Lakhnauti bearing dates 720-22 A.H. and Bahadur's coins are also issued from the same place. This anomaly may be explained in the words of Thomas by supposing that Bahadur in the early days used the name of Lakhnauti as a geographical expression for a portion of the dominions ordinarily administered from that capital. Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 201. J. A. S. B. 1874, p. 84, Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* IV, Series II, p. 86.

Khan who held the fief of Magadh and Qutlū Khan, the other two sons of Shams-al-Din Firuz. Deprived of their possessions by the audacious and scheming Bahadur, the dispossessed brothers sought refuge at Dihli and implored the intervention of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq. But it appears, as we shall see later, that Nāsir-al-Din had acquired some influence, though it did not amount to actual rulership, in Lakhnauti, for during the expedition of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq he came to Tirhut, accompanied by the Rais and Zamindars of the neighbourhood to offer homage.

The leading states in Rajputana in the fourteenth century were Jesalmer and Mewar both of which had been overrun by 'Ala-al-Din. Mewar was conquered in 1303 A.D. and the fort of Chittor was entrusted to Prince Khizr Khan.⁴² Jesalmer soon reverted to its former condition, for the Sultan of Dihli found it impossible to keep his hold on that inhospitable region. It is interesting to trace the history of the relations between Mewar and Dihli during these years. In describing the events of 1304 A.D. Firishta writes: 'At length finding it of no use to retain Chittor, the Sultan ordered Prince Khizr Khan to evacuate it and to make it over to the nephew of the Raja. The Hindu

he in a short time restored the principality to its former condition and retained the tract of Chittor as tributary to 'Ala-al-Din during the rest of his reign. He sent annually large sums of money besides lapsole presents and always joined the imperial standard in the with 5,000 horse and 10,000 foot.'⁴³ Firishta's date is incorrect. There is an inscription at Chittor dated the 10th Zil-hijjah, A.H. 709 (1308 A.D.) which mentions Alauddin as the ruler.⁴⁴ Had the fort all acknowledged

previous to the conquest of Chittor Hajji-ad-Dabir makes an extraordinary statement which is rather uncorroborated that after the fall of the fortress the Sultan appointed to the mountain a niece (امان اخی) of the Raja who was married to the Sultan. After some time she was slain by her wazir. The Raja came back and seized the fort and this state of affairs continued its conquest by Bahadur in 1341 A.H.

F 43 Briggs, I, p. 363.

⁴⁴ This is the Chittor inscription:

شہر پیار جہاں محمد شاہ * آفتاب زمان وظل اللہ
 دیوال مظفر سکندر ثانی * شد مسلم برو جہان آبادی
 عشر ذوالحجۃ موسم قربان * سال بدھ فصد و نہ از ہجران
 تابون کعبہ قبلۃ عالم * بان ملک شدہ بنی انم

been vacated so early (1304) by Khizr Khan, there would have been no possibility of such an inscription being found there. Again in giving an account of the events of the years 1311-12 A.D. Firishta conveys the impression that Khizr Khan was ruling at Chittor, when Malik Kafur was going to the Deccan. He writes: "Meanwhile the Rajputs at Chittor threw the Muhammadan officers over the walls and asserted their independence, while Harpaldeo, the son-in-law of Ramdeo stirred up the Deccan to arms and expelled a number of Muhammadan garrisons."⁴⁵ So, according to this statement Chittor must have passed into the hands of the Rajputs after 1311-12 A.D. Then, the nephew of the Raja mentioned by Firishta to whom Chittor was given over can be no other than the Sonigra chief Maldeva as told by Muhnot Nainsi and other chroniclers of Rajputana and Tod. Muhnot Nainsi, speaking of the conquest of Jalor, writes in his *Khyata* (chronicle):

'Kānhardeva was king of Jalor. He died fighting with his son Vikrama against Sultan 'Ala-al-Din. After his death Jalor passed into the hands of the Sultan. This event happened in Samvat 1368 (1311 A.D.).' The same chronicle says that when 'Ala-al-Din invaded Jalor Kanhardeva had already sent away his brother Maldeva from the fort. For sometime Maldeva engaged himself in Sind but later he went to 'Ala-al-Din who appointed him governor of Chittor. The date of the conquest of Jalor given by Nainsi is corroborated in the *Tirtha Kalpa* of Jinprabhasuri who says in Samvat 1367 (1310 A.D.) 'Ala-al-Din destroyed the temple of at Sanchor, a place near Jalor. The desecration of this must have been a part of the larger enterprise, namely the invasion of Jalor. From this it appears that Maldeva was appointed Chittor in or about 1311 A.D. The statement in the *Raj-Din Gazetteer* that the fort remained in the possession of the Muhammadans up to the time of Muhammad Tughluq (1325—51 A.D.) who appointed Maldeva, the Sonigra chief of Jalor, as its governor is entirely incorrect.⁴⁶ Firishta's statement seems to be doubtful

⁴⁵ Briggs, Firishta, I, p. 381.

⁴⁶ This is probably borrowed from the *Ain-i-Akbari* which says that Sultan Muhammad Khuni (Muhammad Tughluq) made over the government of Chittor to Maldeva the Chauhan ruler of Jalor. As this Prince was unable to restore order in the country he summoned Hammir, made him his son-in-law and through his means restored his prosperity. At his death Hammir made away with his sons and raised the standard of independence. All this is incorrect. Jarrett, *Ain*, II, p. 270.

Nainsi writes: 'for seven years the fort and the adjoining territories remained in the possession of Maldeva. Afterwards Rana Hammir Singh who had married Maldeva's daughter seized it by treachery. On this Maldeva prepared with his three sons Jaisa, Kirtipal and Banvir to fight with Hammir, but he was defeated and killed. Banvir at last joined the service of Hammir and the latter gave him the district of Neemuch, Jirum, Ratanpur and Khairad in Jagir. After sometime Banvir seized Bhainsrod and annexed to Mewar the country towards the Chambal river. According to Nainsi Maldeva remained in power at Chittor till 1318 or 1319 A.D. Hammir had not yet captured it, and whatever the character of the allegiance . . . and we have reason to believe that it was very shadowy under Mubarak . . . there is no doubt that in 1320 A.D. Chittor owned the suzerainty of Dihli. The authority of Dihli was reasserted by Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq as is shown by an inscription of Asad-al-Din Arslan of which mention will be made in another place.

'Ala-al-Din had conquered the leading states in the central region which lies between the Deccan and Hindustan proper. Malwa, Mandu, Chanderi, Gwalior, Siwana—all these states acknowledged his sway. Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah successfully established his authority over these countries, but during the revolution which ended in the establishment of a new dynasty there was a temporary collapse of the imperial authority.

Qutb-al-Din had reasserted his authority over the southern kingdoms. Harpal Deva, the Raja of Devagiri, had revolted, but he was defeated by the Sultan in person, taken prisoner and according to all accounts finally flayed alive. His minister Raghu had been previously overpowered with his 10,000 Hindu horsemen by Khusrau Khan who was appointed to command the Deccan expedition. Amir Khusrau in his *Nuh Sipihr* (The nine Heavens or Spheres) which was written during the reign of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah gives a detailed account of Khusrau's reconquest of Warangal and the complete submission of the Hindu Raja to a most humiliating treaty imposed upon him. Barani and Firishta omit to mention this expedition, but the account of a contemporary like Amir Khusrau which is so detailed cannot be a mere slip.⁴⁷ Barani describes Khusrau's attempt to conquer Ma'bar and writes that before his advent the

⁴⁷ *Nuh Sipihr*, Elliot III, pp. 558—61.

rais of that country fled with their treasures and valuables, and a hundred elephants fell into the hands of Khusrau. Here Barani relates in his usual orthodox style that Khusrau robbed and put to death a Sunni merchant Taqi Khan who had amassed considerable wealth. From the inscriptions of Vīr Ballāla III who is designated at this time as Emperor and sun of the south and the worshipper of the lotus feet of Visvesvara, it appears that he had fallen back upon the Tamil districts, which had been ruled by his uncle Ramanathā, and looked for a revival of his power in the old Pallava country to the east and south of Mysore.⁴⁸ In 1321 we find him living at Arunasamudra which, as Robert Sewell thinks, may be in this neighbourhood, but it is difficult to determine its exact position.⁴⁹ Thus, there is incontestable evidence to show that Qutb-al-Din Mubarak had successfully established his authority over a large part of the Deccan early in his reign, but when Khusrau brought about a revolution in Dihli politics, the Deccan rulers obtained their long-desired opportunity. Vir Ballala was living in 1320 A.D. apparently at peace in the Tamil country. Pratap Rudra Deva Kākatīya II profited to the full by the relaxation of the central government and the steady decline of his southern rivals. He increased his resources to such an extent that the invasions of the king of Oddiyadesa were successfully repelled.⁵⁰ His dominions extended as far as the Western Ghats, and from the Godavari to the Palar river.⁵¹ Though a vassal of the emperor of Dihli to whom he had agreed to pay tribute, the powerful Kākatīya behaved as an independent ruler and treated the suzerain power with scant respect. It was this attitude which compelled Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq to send an expedition to Telingana under the command of his son Muhammad. Tughluq in 721 A.H. (1321-22 A.D.).

In the second year of the reign was undertaken the expedition to Telingana which was ruled over by Pratap Rudra Deva II Kākatīya who is described as Ladar Deo by Barani and other Muslim historians. It was Pratap Rudra Deva's refusal to pay the stipulated tribute to Dihli which drew down upon him the wrath of Tughluq Shah. 'Ulugh Khan, the Crown Prince, with the troops from

Expedition
against Warangal
(721 A.H.—1321
A.D.)

⁴⁸ Epig. Carn., VII, Pt. I, Sh. 69.

Ibid., IV, Gu., 58, 69.

⁴⁹ Epig. Carn., IV, Gu. 69.

⁵⁰ K. V. Ś. Iyer, *Historical Sketches of the Ancient Deccan* I, p. 303.

⁵¹ Haiderabad Arch. Society Journal, 1916, p. 39.

Chanderi, Badaon and Malwa marched by way of Devagir towards Telingana. The disaffected provinces were laid waste and plundered and much booty and treasure fell into the hands of the conquerors. But when the Prince proceeded to lay siege to the fort of Warangal, he had to encounter a strenuous opposition. The fort of Warangal was deemed impregnable in southern India. It had been begun by Ganpatideva and completed by his talented wife Rudrāmbā Devi,⁵² a Yadava princess, who 'administered her realm as well as ever her husband did, or better.' Amir Khusrau and Barani both dwell on the solidity and massiveness of this fortress. The imperialists besieged it, and *manjriqs*⁵³ and *arradaas*⁵⁴ were employed to batter its walls. The Hindus mustered strong from east and west to fight against the forces of Islam. When the imperialists tried to scale the walls of the fortress, fireballs were thrown from within, and all their attempts were frustrated by the enemy. The battle raged fiercely, and large numbers were slain on both sides. But the besiegers did not give way to despair, and the siege was vigorously pushed on for several days without advantage on either side. As the heat was terrible, and the siege showed no signs of termination, hundreds died and many yearned to get back to their homes. Pratap Rudra Deva sued for peace, and offered to send tribute regularly to Dihli and also to furnish elephants and treasure, as he had done before, but the Prince haughtily rejected these terms, and unwisely prolonged a siege the interminable length of which sickened the heart of the army. Just at this time a report was

The Kakatiyas were able to push their way further south to Trichinopoly as they had no rivals to fear. The Chola power had completely declined; the Paliava rebel Perunjinga had died and the Pandyas had become effete and powerless. They had not the ambition or energy of Jatavarmana Sundar Pandya. All this helped Pratap Rudra Deva in developing his power.

⁵² Yule, Marco Polo, II, p. 295. Marco Polo speaks of her as a lady of much discretion, a lover of justice, of equity, of peace who was more beloved by those of her kingdom than ever was lady or lord of theirs before.

⁵³ A *manjriq* is a machine to make breaches in walls. Colonel Yule writes that he was informed by Professor Sprenger that the first mention of the *manjriq* in Muhammadan history is at the siege of Tayif by Prophet Muhammad himself in A.D. 630. Yule, Marco Polo, II, p. 125. Colonel Yule writes an elaborate note on military engines that were used in the Middle Ages, II, note 3, pp. 121—28.

⁵⁴ An '*arrada* is a kind of cart used in times of war. These were used in the early middle ages. We find them used by Firuz Tughluq in his war against Shams-al-Din of Bengal.

spread in the army that Sultan Tughluq Shah was dead at Dihli. Up to this time two or three despatches used to come from Dihli every week, but all of a sudden they ceased to come owing to a heavy downpour of rain, which dishevelled the posts and rendered the roads impassable. The Prince and his entourage were greatly disturbed by this news. Barani and Ibn Batutah give different accounts of this episode. Barani who is followed by later historians writes that the authors of the report were Shaikhzadah Dimishqi and 'Ubaid, the poet and certain other boon companions of the Prince.⁵⁵ Barani does not tell us the motive of these men in spreading such a report. They went to the camp of Malik Tagin, Malik Mal Afghan, the principal officers in the army, and informed them that the Crown Prince who looked upon them as obstacles to his succession to the throne, had hatched a plot to take their lives. As these two men were the close associates of the Prince, they were believed, and the officers mentioned above deserted the colours, and fled from the field of battle. From Barani's narrative it appears that 'Ubaid was a mischievous man and it was simply to create mischief that he invented such a report.

Ibn Batutah's account is different. He positively charges the Prince with conspiracy and writes:—

"When the Prince reached the country of Telang he resolved to rebel. He had a companion 'Ubaid who was a theologian and a poet. He ordered him to spread the report that the emperor Tughluq was dead in the expectation that on hearing this news the officers and troops would swear allegiance to him. But no one believed him, and every Amir rebelled and separated himself from the Prince so much so that none remained with him. The Amirs intended to slay him, but they were asked not to do so by Malik Tamar.⁵⁶ Juna Khan with ten horsemen whom he called his faithful friends fled to his father who again sent him to Telang with money and men. Afterwards when the emperor came to know of his design he caused 'Ubaid to be slain and Malik Kafur to be impaled. A lance was thrust through the neck of the latter, and he was impaled head downwards and his bowels gushed out, and he

⁵⁵ Some texts of Badaoni have 'Ubaid Zakani or 'Ubaid Rakanī which is a mistake. 'Ubaid Zakani was a Persian poet who died in 1371 A.D. Browne, *Persian literature under Tartar dominion*, pp. 159, 209, 211. The Calcutta text has only 'Ubaid, I, pp. 222-23 Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I, p. 298.

⁵⁶ Ibn Batutah's text has Malik Taimur, III, p. 208.

was left in that position until he died. The rest of the Amirs fled out of fear to Sultan Nāsir-al-Din, son of Sultan Shams-al-Din of Bengal.⁵⁷ According to Barani a panic seized the army, and the rank and file followed the example of their leaders. The Hindus made a determined rally, and attacked and plundered the royal camp. The siege had to be raised, and the Prince, depressed in spirits, hastily retreated towards Devagiri with the remnant of his army, and was pursued all along the route by the enemy. Meanwhile letters came from Dihli contradicting the rumour, and quiet was soon restored. Malik Tamar with some of his followers was captured by the Hindus, and he ended his days in miserable captivity. Malik Tagin was fitly rewarded for his betrayal; he was slain by the Marathas who sent his skin to 'Ulugh Khan at Devagir. It is stated in the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* that Malik Hisām-al-Din Abūrajā *mustaufi-i-mamālik* was sent to Devagiri to capture the followers and dependants of Malik Tagin, Taj-al-Din Talqani, son-in-law of Tagin escaped from prison, but he was arrested on the bank of the Sarju river, where he was instantaneously beheaded. Malik Tagin's son and his family were brought to Dihli, where they were trampled under the feet of elephants. Other leaders of the conspiracy were brought to Dihli with their accomplices, and were impaled alive by the Sultan with the caustic remark that as they had buried him in jest he would bury them alive in earnest. These acts of ruthless vengeance, so inconsistent with the general tenor of the Sultan's character, were prompted by the first instinct of nature, the necessity of self-preservation, and were justified by sound reasons of state.

Now we have to choose between Barani and Ibn Batūtah. Barani is followed by all later historians. Sir Wolseley Haig is inclined to accept Ibn Batūtah's version and employs the following reasoning to establish his point.

"Barani is not blind to Muhammad Tughluq's faults, but he invariably sets off against them such virtues as he possessed and his undoubted abilities. It would have been impossible for a courtier writing for publication in the reign of Muhammad's successor, Firuz, who had a tender regard for his cousin's reputation to portray Muhammad as the despicable traitor of Ibn Batūtah's narrative. Ibn Batūtah, on the other hand, was untrammelled by apprehensions for his personal safety, for he did not write and publish his account of

⁵⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 208—10.

travels until his return to his distant western home, when he was far removed from the wrath of the emperor of Dihli ; he was under considerable obligations to Muhammad Tughluq ; he was a careful and accurate inquirer and observer, and had no motive for blackening Muhammad's character. It is needless to labour this point for I believe that Ibn Batutah's version is now generally accepted in preference to Barani's, but its acceptance creates two difficulties, for it is not easy to understand how Ghiyas-al-Din could have entrusted to his son the command of a second expedition or how he could afterwards have appointed him his regent during his absence in Bengal."⁵⁸ Sir Wolseley concludes by saying that either Juna was purged of his former offence by his brilliant conquest of Telingana or that Ghiyas-al-Din believed that he would be less formidable at Dihli surrounded by Amirs or troops devoted to the emperor's interest than at the head of a quasi-independent army in Telingana and accordingly summoned him to the capital.

With these arguments Sir Wolseley accepts Ibn Batūtah's version, but his view is improbable for the following reasons :—

1. Barani is a contemporary writer, and his version cannot be rejected unless strong reasons exist to the contrary. Ibn Batūtah is not always reliable for things he heard from others. The expedition occurred 13 years before his arrival in India.
2. Both Barani and Ibn Batūtah are at one in saying that the second expedition was soon afterwards (according to Barani only after four months) entrusted to Prince 'Ulugh Khan. This proves faith in the Prince. The conspirators were punished, but the Prince is not even mentioned, and in the absence of any definite statement of either Barani or Ibn Batutah we cannot assume that the Prince was purged of his offence. It is incredible that the Sultan should have been ignorant of the rumour. Ibn Batūtah, who mentions the Prince as the author of this conspiracy, does not say that the Sultan ever remonstrated with him. His incomplete narrative renders a great injustice to Muhammad.
3. When the Sultan led his expedition to Lakhnauti, he summoned 'Ulugh Khan from Warangal, appointed him *naib* and left the capital in his charge. Now, if the Prince had been guilty of sedition on a former occasion, the Sultan would have hesitated to

⁵⁸ Sir Wolseley Haig's article on 'Five questions in the history of the Tughluq dynasty' in the J.R.A.S., 1922, pp. 325-26,

entrust the capital to him particularly when he had other sons living at the time. Mubarak Khan, the eldest, who afterwards occupied the office of *Mir-dād* might have been chosen to act as *naib* at the capital. Sir Wolseley is alive to the difficulty, but he gets rid of it by an assumption to support which there is nothing either in Barani or Ibn Batūtah. Obviously the Sultan called the Prince back because Telingana had been subdued, and there was nothing for him to do there. The Rai had been sent as a prisoner to the court. If the Mughal danger menaced the empire, it was right that he should have left the Prince in charge of Dihli. The Prince was a brave man, and he would have been far more useful in Dihli than in Telingana at such a time. Even if we suppose, as Sir Wolseley does, that Barani suppressed the truth to please Firuz Shah, it is not clear why the Sultan should immediately afterwards act as he did. It cannot be believed, as has been remarked, that the Sultan was unaware of the Prince's hostile designs particularly in view of the fact that a *Darbar* was held at Siri to discuss the fate of the culprits arrested for sedition before the execution of sentences. Instead of showing want of faith the whole chain of circumstances proves that the Prince enjoyed the confidence of the Sultan. Hajji-ad-Dabīr writes that the Sultan sent an umbrella for 'Ulugh Khan and conferred upon him independent authority while he was at Devagir. He was invested with the sovereign command of the maliks and troops under him so that no trouble might arise in the future in consequence of such a rumour. Hajji-ad-Dabīr does not slavishly copy Barani and his statement regarding the Sultan's treatment of the Prince disproves the theory of sedition :

After four months according to Barani the Sultan sent the Crown Prince with fresh re-inforcements to reduce Warangal. The Prince arrived in the country of Telang, took the fort of Bedar and then laid siege to Warangal. Pratap Rudra Deva with his family surrendered to the imperialists. The Prince sent him under the custody of Malik Bedar and Khwaja Hāji to Dihli. Warangal was rechristened Sultanpur and the Prince set himself to the subjugation of the country. All arrears of tribute were realised from refractory vassals, and the whole country was divided into provinces for purposes of better management. The Sultan held great rejoicings and *Khutbahs* were read from pulpits in the mosques in Dihli, Siri, and Tughluqabad, and all rejoiced to hear of the glory which the arms of Islam had won. On his way back from Warangal the Prince

subdued the Rajas of Jainagar and Bidar, and having captured forty elephants returned in triumph.

After the Warangal expedition came the news of the misconduct of the governor of Bengal, Barani only says certain noblemen came from Lakhnauti to the Sultan and complained to him of the high-handedness of the ruler of Bengal. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad who follows

Expedition to
Lakhnauti, 724
A.H.

Barani writes that the well-wishers of the Sultan made representations to him of the tyranny, oppression and misbehaviour of the rulers of Bangalah and induced the Sultan to invade Lakhnauti. All authorities agree in saying that the cause of intervention was the misconduct of the ruler of Bengal. Shihāb-al-Din Baghrā Shāh and Nāsir-al-Dīn had been expelled from Lakhnauti by Bahadur, the ruler of Sonargaon who had proclaimed himself ruler of Bengal.⁵⁹ The persecution of Musalmans and the injustice done to these princes roused the ire of the God-fearing emperor, who was ever ready to put down disorder with a high hand. The Sultan summoned Prince Muhammad from Telingana, and entrusted to him the government of the capital in his absence. According to the *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shāhi* the Sultan proceeded towards Lakhnauti in 724 (1324 A.D.). This date is followed by Ibn Batutah and Firishta and we have no reason to doubt it. The royal army rapidly crossed the rivers and swamps, and reached the country, where the news of the emperor's approach had frightened the rebels out of their wits. When the Sultan reached the neighbourhood of Tirhut, Nāsir-al-Dīn, whom Barani, Yahyā, Nizam-al-Din, Badaoni, Firishta and Hājji-ad-Dabīr call the ruler of Lakhnauti, came to pay homage, and the Rajas and Zamindars of the country also tendered their submission. Mr. Rakhal Das Banerjee in his *History of Bengal* says that after 1321 A.D. probably Nāsir-al-Dīn had recovered possession of

⁵⁹ Barani simply says certain noblemen came from Lakhnauti to complain of the high-handedness of the ruler of Bangalah. The *Tabqāt* says, some well-wishers of the Sultan made representation to him of the tyranny of the ruler of Bangalah and asked him to invade Lakhnauti. Badaoni and Firishta also say that the tyranny of the ruler of Bangalah led to this intervention. It is stated in the *Riyāz-al-Salāṭīn* (p. 91), that Nāsir-al-Dīn implored the intervention of Sultan Tughluq Shah and that he and his brother Shihab-al-Din Baghra Shah had sought refuge with Tughluq Shah. Thomas says the intervention of Tughluq Shah in the affairs of Bengal seems to have originated in an appeal on the part of the ejected Shihāb-al-Dīn against the usurpation of his brother Bahadur. J.A.S.B., Pt. I, 1867, p. 46. The fact is that Nāsir-al-Din and Shihab-al-Din had sought shelter with Tughluq Shah and implored his intervention.

captives, and a large booty fell into the hands of the Musalmans. The province was made over to Ahmad Khan, the son of Malik Talbagha, and became an imperial fief. Having finished the subjugation of the country, the emperor resumed his march towards Dihli.⁶³ This is Firishta's account. There is much discrepancy between Firishta and the Hindu writers regarding the results and details of this campaign. According to Hindu sources the Raja of Tirhut (Mithila) at this time was Hari Singh Deva son of Sakra Singh, the last great representative of the Kārṇāta dynasty.⁶⁴ It was this king who grouped the Maithil Brahmins into the three main divisions of *Srotriya*, *Panjībaddha* and *Jaiwāras* and introduced rules of marriage which are still observed.

A contemporary poet Jyotirīśvara in his comedy entitled *Dhūrtsamāgama* speaks of the Sultan of Dihli being defeated by Hari Singh Deva, ruler of Mithila in the second decade of the fourteenth century. The Sultan of Dihli can be no other than Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq who led an expedition to Bengal. The comedy speaks of a good fight with the Sultan, a statement which is corroborated by Firishta.⁶⁵ As the comedy was played before Hari Singh Deva, it must have been composed sometime after 1324 A.D. But Jyotirīśvara is a court poet and a panegyrist who enjoyed the patronage of Hari Singh Deva, and in a comedy intended to be played before his master it cannot be expected that he would speak of his defeat at the Sultan's hands. Firishta is right in saying that

⁶³ Firishta, p. 132.

⁶⁴ Nepal Vamsavali, Indian Antiquary, 1884, p. 414.

Ibid., 1880, p. 189, inscription No. 19, verse 10.

Hari Singh Deva is described as:—

जातः श्रीहरिसिंह देव नृपतिः प्रौढ प्रतापोदयः ।
तद्वंशे विमले महारिपुहरे गाम्भीर्यरत्नाकरः (रः) ॥
कर्त्ता यः सरसामुपेत्य मिथिलां संलक्ष्यलक्षप्रियो ।
नैपाले पुनराव्य वैभवयुते स्थैर्यं विधत्ते चिरं ॥

⁶⁵ Nepal Durbar MS. This is a play written by a contemporary of Hari Singh Deva and therefore valuable for its reference to the fight which took place between him and the Sultan of Dihli. The comedy speaks of the fight in the following words:—

नानायोधनिरुद्धनिर्जितसुरत्राणत्रसद्वाहिनी ।
नृयद्धीमकवन्धमेलकदलद्भूमिभ्रमद्भूधरः ॥
अस्ति श्रीहरिसिंह देव नृपतिः काणाट चूडामणिः ।
दृश्यत् पार्थिवसार्थमौलिमुकुटन्यस्तांघ्रिपंके रुहः ॥

the Raja was defeated, and he is supported by another account. Vidyapati, a Maithil poet of great renown, who flourished in the 14th century speaks of Hari Singh Deva as 'frightened by the Sultan'.⁶⁶ The Raja fell back on his capital Simraon or Simrāmapura now situated within the border of the Nepal state, but it was captured and ruined. Professor Bendall and Mr. Wright accept the view that Hari Singh Deva fled across the Nepal border, conquered the country and established a kingdom for himself.⁶⁷ The date of Hari Singh Deva's flight is given in the following verses as Saka 1245 (1324 A.D.):—

वाणाब्धि बाहु शशि सम्मित शाकवर्षे ।
 पौषस्य शुक्ल दशमी क्षिति सुनुवारे ॥
 त्यक्त्वा स्व पदनपुरीं हरिसिंह' देवो ।
 दुर्दैव दर्शितपथः गिरिमाविवेश ॥

This date coincides with that suggested by Firishta's narrative of the defeat of the Raja of Tirhut. That Hari Singh Deva was defeated and his territories fell into the hands of the Dihli Sultan is further established by the following evidence. Tirhut henceforward figures as a province of Mahammad's empire.⁶⁸ It is not mentioned in the Paris MS. of the *Masālik*, but I suspect that in one place Telang is written by mistake for Tirhut. The Dihli Sultans continued to claim over-lordship over Tirhut, and in support of this claim Ghiyas-al Din's son Muhammad Tughluq issued coins from the mint named Tughluqpur *alias* Tirhut.⁶⁹ Besides, Vidyāpati, the great poet in his

⁶⁶ Purusparīksā, Darbhanga edition, p. 66.

⁶⁷ Bendall's article on the 'History of Nepal and surrounding kingdoms' in the J.A.S.B., VI, LXXII, Part I, p. 14. Prof. Bendall discusses the nature of Hari Singh Deva's expedition into Nepal and comes to the conclusion that it seems safer to regard Hari Singh and his ancestors who reigned in Tirhut, Simraon, and also possibly other parts of the Nepal Tarai as at most titular kings of Nepal, even if they really claimed sovereignty over the valley of Nepal at all.' Wright, History of Nepal, p. 175. Journal Asiatique, 1816, Vol. I, p. 552. The date 1323 A.D. is incorrect. The date 1326 A.D. given by Chand Jha, Vidyāpati's commentator is also incorrect.

⁶⁸ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 468.

Brown, The Coins of India, Plate VIII, coin No. 9. It is a specimen of forced currency issued in 730 A.H. from Tughluqpur, the official name of Tirhut.

⁶⁹ Rogers, Indian Museum Coins, Part I, p. 63.

No. 12911, No. 12912.

Bourdillon, Catalogue of Indian Museum Coins, Vol. II, p. 60, No. 384. J.A.S.B., 1883, p. 62, Plate V, Fig. 32.

Purusparīksā writes in his tale of Satyavīr that Muhammad, the Yavana king of Hastinapura, had a fight with the Kāfar raja which resulted in a retreat of the Muslim army. Thereupon Muhammad called in the help of certain warriors to prevent the retreat. In response to this appeal Narsingh Deva of Kārnāta Kula and Prince Chārchik Deva of the Chauhan Kula came forward with offers of help. Narsingh killed the Kāfar raja and sent his head to Muhammad through Chārchik Deva. This probably refers to an attempt made by Muhammad Tughluq to suppress a rebellious local chieftain with the aid of other Hindu princes who perhaps recognised his authority.⁷⁰

When the Crown Prince heard of the approach of the Sultan, he caused a temporary wooden structure to be hastily erected in

Death of Ghiyas three days at Afghampur,⁷¹ a small village at a
725 A.H. (1325 distance of three or four *krohs* from Tughluqabad.
A.D.)

Ulugh Khan with all the distinguished amirs and officials of the court went to this place to congratulate the emperor on his triumphs in Bengal. The Sultan who suspected no treachery lodged there for the night. When the dinner was over and the officials had walked out to wash their hands, the canopy crumbled down to the earth and the Sultan was, with his five or six attendants and his young son, crushed to death. This tragic event occurred according to the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* in Rabi'-al-awwal, 725 A.H.⁷² (February—March, 1325 A.D.). There are two theories regarding the Sultan's death. One is that

⁷⁰ *Purusparīkā*, Darbhanga edition, pp. 26-27.

The passage begins with the words :—

अस्ति हस्तिनापुर नाम्नि नगरे

⁷¹ There is no village of this name now in existence. Sir Wolseley Haig is inclined to believe that the pavilion was built at Aghwanpur, a village five miles from Tughluqabad. The name of this village may be a corruption of Afghampur or the Muhammadan historians may have corrupted a Hindi name. J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 330.

⁷² The T. M. gives this date and it is copied by Badaoni and Firishta. This date is corroborated from another source. Muhammad Tughluq's death occurred on Muharram 21, 725 A.H. Yahya who is followed by Badāoni and Firishta gives the duration of his reign as 27 years. Calculating backwards we find that Muhammad's accession should take place sometime in Muharram 725 A.H. But Yahya leaves out of account the forty and odd days after which his coronation was celebrated at Dihli.

Barani, Cal. Text, p. 456. Hajji-ad-Dabīr's statement that the Sultan's death occurred in the month of Zi-al-hijjah is incorrect.

the building in which he stayed on his return from Lakhnauti was struck by lightning, and in the crash that followed he lost his life.

The other theory is that the Crown Prince had entered into a conspiracy with some other persons to murder the Sultan, and it was at his instance that the building at Afghanpur was erected in such a manner by Ahmad Ayāz as to fall instantaneously when elephants were brought in contact with a certain portion of it. A close examination of contemporary and later authorities leads us to the conclusion that the Prince was guilty of a parricidal plot. The contemporary historian Barani writes:—

“The Sultan Tughluq Shah ordered the table to be spread and the food was brought. When the *maliks* and *amirs* came out to wash their hands, the lightning of a calamity from heaven descended upon the people of the earth, and the roof of the pavilion under which the Sultan was seated came down with a crash all of a sudden, so that the Sultan along with five or six others was crushed under the debris and died.”⁷³ Ibn Batūtah, the Moorish traveller gives a detailed account of the circumstances relating to the death of Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq. The causes of estrangement between the father and the son he points out to be:—

1. The Prince's regard for Shaikh Nizam-al-Din Aulia⁷⁴ and the latter's conferment of sovereignty upon him in one of his ecstatic fits.

⁷³ Barani writes:—

و در آن معرض که سلطان تغلق شاه ماعده خاص پیش طلبید
و طعام خرچ شد و ملوک و امراء دست شستن بیرون آمدند - صاعقه
بلاے آسمانی بر زمینان نازل شد فسقف صفا که سلطان تغلق شاه
در زیر آن نشسته بود یکایک بر سلطان افتاد بسلطان باپنح و شش
نفر دیگر زیر سقف آمد و بکجوار رحمت حق پیوست -

Cal. Text, p. 452.

⁷⁴ The Shaikh died on the 18th Rabi'-al-Sani, 725 A.H. The date of his death is given on a mosque in these words:

نظام دو گیتی شده ماء طین
سراج دو عالم شده بالیقین
چو تاریخ فوتش به جستم زغیب
ندا دان هاتف شهنشاہ دین

2. The Prince's generosity and his extravagance in purchasing slaves ;

3. And the Sultan's preference of another son and 'Ulugh Khan's fear of supersession. He goes on to add :—

“ When the Sultan approached the capital, he sent an order to his son Juna asking him to erect a palace at Afghanpur. Juna Khan constructed a palace in three days. Ahmad Ayāz, the royal architect (Mir 'Imārat) made the design and the foundations were so laid of this wooden structure that if elephants stood at a certain place, the whole thing was to collapse. The Sultan stayed here and entertained his friends. When the dinner was over, Juna Khan begged his permission to present the elephants. The Sultan agreed : Shaikh Rukn-al-Din informed me that he was there with the Sultan at the time and with them was the Sultan's favourite son Mahmud. Muhammad came and said to the Shaikh, ‘ Akhund, it is now evening, come down and retire for prayer.’ The Shaikh descended and the elephants were brought up on one side (of the pavilion) as arranged and it fell upon the Sultan and his son Mahmud. Muhammad ordered spades and shovels to be brought to dig and seek for his father, but he made signs to them not to hurry up and the tools were not brought till after sun-set. Then they began to dig and the Sultan was found bending over his son as if trying to save him from death. Some say that the Sultan was alive, and that an end was made of him. On the same night he was carried to the tomb which he had built for himself in the city of Tughluqabad, and there he was interred.”⁷⁵ The author of the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shāhi* who

“ The order of both the worlds became water and mud and the lamp of both worlds has disappeared. When I sought the date of his death, from the invisible world, a voice came “ *Shahanshāh-i-Dīn*.”

The Sultan died in Rabi'-al-awwal 725 A.H. previous to the death of the Shaikh. Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Dihli*, p. 104.

Ranking Al-Badaoni, I, p. 266.

Ain-i-Akbari, III, p. 365. Firishta gives a long biography of Shaikh Nizam-al-Din, Lucknow Text, pp. 391—98.

Gulzār-i-Abrār, A.S.B., MS. D/162, f. 27 b. Muhammad Kirmani, the author of the *Sair-al-aulia* and a pupil of the Shaikh writes that he fell ill in Zi-al-Hijjah 724 A.H. at the age of 89 and after an illness lasting for four months and some days in Rabi II, 18, 725 A.H. *Matlūb-al-talibīn*, India Office, MS. f. 113 b.

Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Dihli*, p. 104.

⁷⁵ Ibn-Batūtah, III, pp. 212—14.

must have utilised Barani makes no mention of lightning and supports Ibn Batūtah inasmuch as he says that the pavilion which was hastily erected crumbled down when elephants were paraded near it, and the Sultan with one other man attained martyrdom.⁷⁶ His omission of the fall of lightning is significant. Abul Fazl writes in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that although Zia Barani endeavours to substantiate the innocence of Muhammad Khan, the haste with which the pavilion was erected and the eagerness to entertain the king therein have all the appearance of guilty design.⁷⁷ Abul-Fazl does not speak of a conspiracy between the Prince and Shaikh Aulia, but it is clear from his writing that his authorities led him to the conclusion that the Sultan's death was planned by his son. Ibn Batūtah is corroborated by Nizam-al-Din Ahmad, the highly trustworthy and judicious author of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* who seems to favour the view that the Sultan's death was due to a conspiracy between the Prince and the Shaikh, for whom the Prince had a great reverence, and who entertained feelings of hostility towards the emperor, for he had ordered his expulsion from Dihli. The same authority writes:—"It cannot, however, remain hidden from the minds of the intelligent that the erection of the pavilion, for which there was no necessity whatever, creates a suspicion that Ulugh Khan encompassed his father's death. It is evident that the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* which was written in the reign of Sultan Firuz who had great regard for Sultan Muhammad, was reticent about the matter, out of regard for the reigning monarch. The humble writer has heard this

⁷⁶ The text has:—

بر کشکے کہ ہر اے بار جائے ترتیب کردہ بودند و تر بر تر
تعجیل ہواوردہ بار داد فرمود تا پیلان کہ از نہب لکھنوتی آوردہ
اند بیمارند یکجا بدوانند - زمین کشکی بلرزید - بتقدیر اللہ
تمالی در خلل پذیرفت و بافتان - سلطان غیاث الدین تغلق
شاه مرحوم بایک نفر در زیر کوشک آمدہ و شہادت یافت -

In the pavilion which was hastily erected to be treated as a place of audience, he ordered the elephants captured as a spoil from Lakhnauti to run a race. The earth trembled, and by the degree of God, the pavilion was damaged and fell down. Sultan Ghiyasuddin along with one other man being under the pavilion attained martyrdom.

⁷⁷ Jarret, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, pp. 306-07.

repeatedly from trustworthy persons, and it is well known, that as Sultan Tughluq was displeased with his reverence Shaikh Nizam-al-Din Aulia, he sent a message to the latter, telling him to leave Dihli, by the time he would himself arrive there ; and the Shaikh said, ' Dihli is far off yet.'⁷⁸ To follow Nizam-al-Din's statement it is necessary to examine the relations of the Sultan with the Shaikh. Shaikh Nizam-al-Din had strong leanings towards *Sufism* and was looked upon as heterodox by the '*Ulama*.'⁷⁹ A man of great renunciation he had once quarrelled with Mubarak Khilji and refused to bow to his authority. His relations with Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din were of a definitely unfriendly character. Besides the testimony of Ibn Batūtah there is further evidence to prove the strained relations between the Sultan and the Shaikh. Nizam-al-Din, Firishta and Hajji-ad-Dabīr both relate at length the story of this estrangement and they are supported by the *Matlūb-al-Tālibīn*, a biography of the Shaikh, which was compiled from reliable sources in 1698 A.D. Hajji-ad-Dabīr relies for his account upon the *Sair-al-ʿārfin* written by one Hāmid bin Fazl Ullah better known by his surname Darwesh Jamāli during the reign of the Mughal emperor Humayun.⁸⁰ Firishta also seems to have drawn upon this work, for its name is mentioned among the authorities which he consulted in preparing his history, but his account is less full than that of Hajji-ad-Dabīr. The author of the *Matlāb-al-Tālibīn*, though a later writer, mentions several works which he utilised in preparing his biography, some of which seem to be uncommon. There is no disagreement between the authorities of Hajji-ad-Dabīr and Firishta and those of Muhammad Bulāq in this matter. Bulāq's treatise which is entirely devoted to the Shaikh's life sketches the early history of the Shaikh and de-

⁷⁸ Tabqāt, Cal. Text, pp. 214-15.

⁷⁹ The Shaikh was born at Badaon in 634 A.H. His father's name was Ahmad Dāniyal. While yet a child, the Shaikh was left an orphan and the entire responsibility of bringing up the child devolved upon his mother. After sometime the Shaikh's mother migrated to Dihli where he began his education at the age of 25. But being a precocious youth he rapidly rose in favour with Khwajah Shams-al-Din Khwaizmi, a recognised teacher, of theology in those days. As time passed, the young saint acquired fame by reason of his spiritual attainments, and his influence in Dihli increased considerably. He died in 725 A.H. at Dihli and was buried in a tomb which exists to this day. The *Matlūb-al-Tālibīn* is a detailed biography of the Shaikh. Jarrett *Ain-i-Akbari*, III, p. 365. Firishta, Lucknow Text, pp. 391—98.

⁸⁰ Arabic History of Gujarat, Vol. III, pp. 854-55.

scribes how he fell out with the kings of Dihli. The quarrel between the Shaikh and the Sultan was due to two causes⁸¹ :—

1. After the death of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Khilji Khusrau Khan sent two or three lakhs of *tankahs* to each of the Shaikhs. Some accepted the amount ; some refused it ; others kept it on trust only to be returned when things were in a settled condition. Khusrau sent five lakhs to Nizam-al-Din Aulia, but the latter spent the whole amount in charity. After five months when Ghazi Malik became ruler, he demanded the money back from all those who had received it. Much severity was practised in realising this money. When the turn of Nizam-al-Din Aulia came, he sent a reply seemingly insolent, that the money belonged to the *Bait-al-mal* (public treasury) and therefore he had given it away to the poor. The Sultan said nothing, but he took umbrage at the Shaikh's answer. He did not approve of the Shaikh's acceptance of money from such an unclean infidel as Khusrau.

2. Another reason which led to differences between the Sultan and the Shaikh was the latter's fondness for music and his ecstatic fits. As a Sufi believing in spiritual experiences of this kind, the Shaikh took great delight in music. Grave doubts were raised by the 'Ulama regarding the legality of the Shaikh's actions. A large number of the 'Ulama declared the acts of the Shaikh against the law of Abū Hanifah and the Sultan agreed with them. A large *darbar* was held to decide whether music was permitted in the law or not. Shaikhs and divines from far and wide attended the assembly and after a prolonged discussion it was decided that the law did declare music unlawful although it laid down certain reservations.


3. This decision was not liked by the Sultan who wanted to remove the Shaikh from Dihli. When he was returning from Bengal, he sent word to the Shaikh that he should leave Dihli before his arrival whereupon the Shaikh, who is said to have been ill at the time, made the ominous reply '*Hinuz Dihli dūrast.*'

Thus the fact of strained relations between the Shaikh and the Sultan is definitely established. The *Haft Iqlīm*, a work composed

⁸¹ All authorities agree in giving these causes of quarrel between the Sultan and the Shaikh. The *Tabqāt* give detailed account of the practices of the Shaikh

Biblioth Ind. pp. 214-15.

Hajji-ad-Dabīr and Firishta do the same. All of them speak of the ecstatic songs and dances of the Shaikh which displeased the emperor.

in 1593 A.D. shortly after the *Tabqāt* does not mention the fall of the pavilion through lightning. On the contrary, the language employed by its author creates a suspicion that the Sultan's death was due to some sort of conspiracy.⁸² Badaoni who used the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and the *Tabqāt* writes:—“We should not lose sight of the fact that from having built a palace such as this, which was quite unnecessary there is a suspicion that ‘Ulugh Khan may have built the palace without foundations as was currently rumoured, but the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* makes no mention of this although this may possibly be due to a desire to flatter Firuz Shah out of regard for him.⁸³ In this matter Badaoni does not follow as is his wont, the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, but accepts the view expressed by the author of the *Tabqāt*. Firishta rejects Nizam-al-Din's statement and regards it most unreasonable.⁸⁴ He writes:—‘But it will occur to all unbiassed persons that these accusations are far from probable. For it must be recollected that the Prince had been for sometime with his father in the building during the entertainment. How, then, was he to effect, as if by a miracle, that the house should fall at the very moment he left it? He repeats the account of Sadrijahan Gujarati who asserted that the palace was built by a talisman and of Hajji Muhammad Qandhari who held that it was struck by lightning. Firishta thinks that the latter event does not seem at all improbable. But not being a critical historian, he feels uncertain about his conclusions and expresses his doubt in a characteristic oriental fashion: ‘God only knows the real truth’ Hajji-ad-Dabīr who relies upon Barani and Husām Khan records two different versions without expressing his view one way or the other. He is more explicit than Barani in saying that all of a sudden lightning fell on the roof of the verandah and down it came with a crash upon the Sultan who at once attained martyrdom. Husām Khan corroborates Ibn Batūtah and Nizam-al-Din and gives two explanations. One of these is that the Sultan, while he was seated in the pavilion () ordered the elephants to be brought, and as soon as this was done the building trembled and fell down to the earth, and the Sultan was crushed to death. The other explanation relates to the differences between the Sultan and Shaikh Aulia over the question of music. According to Husām Khan when the Sultan

⁸² J.A.S.B., MS. D/326, p. 339.

⁸³ *Tarikh Mubarak Shahi*, All. University, MS.

⁸⁴ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 132.

sent word to the Shaikh that he had reached near Dihli and that he should stop music the Shaikh replied *Hinoz Dihli durast.*' The author of the *Khulāsāt-ut-tawārikh* who is merely a compiler follows the *Tabqāt* and charges the Prince with conspiracy.⁸⁵

With this evidence before us we have to decide whether the Sultan's death was caused by lightning or it was the result of a conspiracy planned by the crown prince. It appears that Shaikh Nizamuddin Auliya had knowledge of the Sultan's coming down. Barani who must have been in the know leaves us cruelly in the dark and evades the difficulty by recording an equivocal remark in metaphorical language.⁸⁶ The India Office MS. of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* has صاعقه بلا از آسمان which means that the lightning of a calamity from heaven fell upon the earth. The Buhar text expresses the same idea in the words صاعقه بلا از آسمان بر زمین نازل شد. Other texts also have more or less the same expression. Sir Wolseley Haig has pointed out the error of the translator of the extracts from Barani in Elliot and Dowson's History of India as told by its own historians.⁸⁷ The original passage which has been cited in a foot note is thus rendered: 'A thunderbolt from the sky descended upon the earth and the roof under which the Sultan was seated fell down, crushing him and five or six other persons so that they died.'⁸⁸ This mistranslation has been followed by Ranking in a note to his translation of the *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*.⁸⁹ Sir Wolseley suggests with great force that if Barani had intended to say that the building was actually struck by lightning, he would have written بلائے صاعقه آسمانی (the calamity of a thunderbolt from the sky). The word صاعقه is merely a simile, comparing the calamity in its suddenness to a thunderbolt, but Barani would

⁸⁵ *Khulasat-ut-Tawarikh* edited by Zafar Hasan, pp. 236-37.

⁸⁶ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 452. The various texts of Barani repeat the same expression with a slight variation.

صاعقه بلائے آسمانی بر زمین نازل شد
صاعقه بلا از آسمان بر زمین نازل شد

Cal. Text, p. 452.

A.S.B., MS.

Bankipore MS., 216 (now rearranged).

Buhar MS. f. 386.

India office MS. f. 287.

صاعقه بلا از آسمان بر زمین نازل شد
صاعقه بلا از آسمان بر زمین نازل شد

⁸⁷ J.R.A.S., 1922, pp. 330-31.

⁸⁸ Elliot and Dawson, III, p. 235.

⁸⁹ Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I, Note 3, p. 300. Ranking says Barani gives a different version, attributing the fall of the palace to a thunderbolt... which descended from the sky.

probably have been well content to be misunderstood.⁹⁰ The text of the Asiatic Society of Bengal has صاعقه بالآسماوي which means a thunderbolt of a calamity from heaven.⁹¹ One thing deserves to be noted. The brevity with which Barani records the Sultan's death creates a suspicion which is further increased by his complete omission of Shaikh Aulia's story, the reason for which probably is that Barani was one of the most ardent disciples of the Shaikh⁹² and did not like to cast a slur upon the character of his patron saint whom he adored with all the intensity of his orthodox nature. He would be the last person to suggest that the Shaikh was implicated in a criminal conspiracy. If the canopy had been struck by lightning, Barani could have recorded the event straightway without employing figurative language. Hajji-ad-Dabir writes that lightning fell, but his statement is a mere paraphrase of Barani. He falls into the same error, if error it can be called, as the translator of Barani's extracts in Elliot and Dowson's History of India. The author of the *Matlūb-al-Tālibīn* referring to this incident writes برق از آسمان افتاد which clearly means that lightning fell from heaven, but being a biographer and relative of the Shaikh he would naturally feel inclined to suppress anything that would implicate his canonised kinsman in a conspiracy to murder the Sultan.⁹³ A careful reading of the text makes it clear how Muhammad Bulāq gets out of the difficulty. He accepts Nizam-al-Din's version regarding the Sultan's threat to expel the Shaikh from Dihli on his arrival there, but to magnify the greatness of the Shaikh he leaves out the rest, and suggests that the threat was followed by the fall of lightning from heaven.

The Sultan's death occurred in Rabi'-al-awwal, 725 A.H. (Feb. March 1325) which is not the time when lightning is generally expected. The fact that the Sultan's death occurred at a time when rain does not usually fall is significant. But assuming for the sake of argument that lightning did fall, why should any writer suppress such an occurrence? Ibn Batutah was no eye-witness of the catastrophe, but it stands to reason that if the emperor's death had been caused by lightning, it would have been difficult, if not impossible,

⁹⁰ J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 331.

⁹¹ Barani, p. 452.

⁹² The author *Matlūb-al-Tālibīn* states that Barani was a disciple of the Shaikh and he frequently lived in his company. India Office, MS. f. 164 b.

⁹³ India Office MS. 54 b.

to concoct an imaginary story to explain it. When the traveller came to India, he heard the story from Shaikh Rukn-al-Din Multani, who was an eye-witness of the tragic scene and happened to be present in the pavilion on that fateful day at Afghanpur. The Shaikh could have no motive in inventing a false story, for he was treated with great magnanimity by Muhammad Tughluq and was given one hundred villages as jagir.⁹⁴ It is hardly likely that the recipient of such unstinted royal favour should deliberately indulge in falsehood and connect the name of his benefactor with the guilt of parricide. Later writers, almost all of them, support Ibn Batūtah and allude to the differences which existed between the Shaikh and the Sultan. The consensus of opinion, therefore, is in favour of Ibn Batūtah's version. Besides, he is remarkably corroborated by the author of the *Gulzār-i-abrār*, a hagiological work written between 1611 and 1613 A.D. wherein it is stated that when Sultan Tughluq Shah entered the royal pavilion on his return from Bengal in 725 A.H. Shaikh Rukn-al-Din was present with him. He goes on to add :

'The Shaikh suggested several times by word and gesture that they should leave the place but no one heeded his advice. When the dinner was served, the Shaikh finished quickly and walked out with other elderly men. Suddenly, while the Sultan was yet washing his hands, the building fell down and he was crushed to death with a few others.'⁹⁵

This passage shows that Ibn Batūtah's informant Shaikh Rukn-al-Din knew about the affair and at the time suspected that some foul play was going to be practised, otherwise why should he suggest to the party to walk out? Why he did not inform the Sultan whose favour he enjoyed that something untoward was going to happen is a mystery. Perhaps the expectation of seeing better days under the new regime prevented him from expressing his sense of danger in a more articulate fashion. Ibn Batūtah tells us that the Shaikh was called away by Muhammad who asked him to say the evening prayers. It was at this time that elephants were brought and the building crumbled down. If we read together the passages in Ibn Batūtah and the *Gulzār-i-abrār* we come to the conclusion that Shaikh Rukn-al-Din Multani knew how the Sultan's death had

⁹⁴ Ibn Batutah, III, p. 324.

⁹⁵ A.S.B. MS. D/262 f. 19 b.

been caused, and the information he supplied to Ibn Batūtah was correct. Ibn Batūtah is impartial, for in his distant home where he dictated these observations he had nothing to hope for or fear from the Sultan. There are other circumstances which support Ibn Batūtah. Ahmad Ayāz's rapid elevation from the supervisor of state buildings to the position of the chief minister of the realm and the principal adviser of Muhammad strengthens the suspicion against him. If the building fell by accident, why was not Ahmad Ayāz punished afterwards, for the structure had been erected under his personal supervision in the capacity of the chief architect of the realm? Why should a building designed by the royal engineer for the reception of the Sultan himself fall down so quickly? The condonation of this criminal neglect of duty points to the Prince's complicity in the parricidal plot. There are other things to be taken into account. The hasty and somewhat superfluous construction of the pavilion, the sudden exit of the officials and the Crown Prince after the dinner, the Prince's suggestion to bring the elephants at that particular moment, and Barani's hesitation to state the truth in a straight-forward manner together with the popular explanation of the emperor's death, which the Moorish traveller found current in India on his arrival and the liberal grant of twelve parganas for the upkeep of the Shaikh's monastery in addition to the allowance given to his followers after his death⁹⁶ lend support to the theory that the Sultan's death was the result of pre-meditation and conspiracy and not of accident.

It may be asked why Muhammad's brothers acquiesced in this act of most brutal usurpation. Probably because he was the ablest of them all and because he had been declared heir by the Sultan himself. The willing consent of the other Princes to his assumption of royalty is proved by Mubarak Khan's acceptance of high office under Muhammad. The haste with which Muhammad tried to obtain the throne which had been declared for him is not unusual in Muslim history. The absence of any kind of disturbance consequent upon the Sultan's death is explained by the fact that men's memories are proverbially short, and in politics and diplomacy, particularly, the man who achieves success is welcomed in spite of his misdoings. This was exactly what had happened before in the case of 'Ala-al-Din Khilji.

⁹⁶ Matlūb-al-Tālibīn, India Office MS. f. 111.

Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq maintained the same machinery of government which had hitherto been in use and from the list of offices given by Barani we gather that most of these existed under 'Ala-al-Din. No structural changes were made in the constitution of government ; no new organisations were undertaken as

The Govern-
ment of Tughluq
Shah.

they were under his illustrious son Muhammad Tughluq.⁹⁷ His administration was based upon the principles of justice and moderation, and in the enforcement of his regulations he was guided by his desire to advance the public weal. Himself a devout and God-fearing Muslim, he acted in dealing with his subjects with due regard for human failings and abstained from every kind of excess. He put down disorder with a high hand, but he was never wantonly unjust and cruel. He enacted a code of laws in conformity with the dictates of the *Quran* which constituted the basis of his civil administration. A living example of the survival of the fittest, he attached to himself able men, whose chief qualification for office consisted in merit and not in birth or wealth. To prevent corruption and embezzlement he paid his officers well and promoted to high rank only those who gave proof of their loyalty and devotion. In the distribution of rewards the Sultan was guided by the considerations of rank, merit and length of service and avoided all invidious distinctions. He was not a whimsical despot but a sagacious and thoughtful ruler who always consulted his councillors in important matters of state.

The first difficulty which confronted his government was the dilapidated condition of the finances. Mubarak and Khusrau both had recklessly squandered the treasures of the state and had made grants of land to win adherents from among the people. A searching enquiry was instituted into all claims and jagirs and an order was issued to confiscate all those that had been unlawfully granted. Recovery was demanded from all and stringent measures were adopted to compel the dishonest recipients of this bounty to yield up their ill-gotten gains.

The land revenue of the country was equitably settled. The farming system was disallowed in the *iqṭ'as* and the provinces and farmers of revenue and contractors were not allowed to come near the *Diwan-i-Wizārat* for the Sultan cared more for the wellbeing of

⁹⁷ A full account of the various instructions will be given under Muhammad.

his people than for high bids.⁹⁸ The rate of *Khirāj* was probably the same as that under 'Ala-al-Din, i.e., 50 per cent of the gross produce but Ghiyas took good care to guard his subjects against official rapacity and unjust enhancement. On this subject Barani's text runs as follows :

" He fixed the *Khirāj* of the provinces equitably and refused to introduce innovations and retain useless taxes. He did not listen to the offers of backbiters and farmers who offered high bids. These men were forbidden to come near the precincts of the *Diwan-i-Wizarat*. This office was directed not to increase the revenue of *iqtas* beyond 1/10th or 1/11th by guess and at the misrepresentation of bidders. The *Khirāj* was to increase gradually over a number of years and not all at once, for by doing so the country suffers and the path of progress is blocked." The officers of the state were asked to see that cultivation increased from year to year and that the agricultural industry did not suffer from official rapacity and extortion. The *Khirāj* was to be gradually increased to avoid inconvenience to the people and no extraordinary cesses were permitted. The Jagirdars and *Hākims* were asked to be careful in the realisation of the *Khirāj* so that the *Khūts* and *muqaddams* may not impose any additional burden upon the people besides the state dues. Exemption from the grazing tax and the payment of revenues was to be regarded in the Sultan's opinion as compensation for their services as *Khuts* and *muqaddams*, and in view of the great responsibilities they had to discharge, it was considered unjust to demand revenue from them like other subjects of the state.⁹⁹ Regulations were issued for the guidance of *Khūts* and *maqaddams* who were asked to be just and moderate in their dealings with the people. Barani describes in a somewhat obscure passage the Sultan's method of collection. He writes :—

اگر ملوک و اُمرا نیم ده یاز ده و یک ده و پانزده خراج از ولایت
و اقطاع خود توقع کنند و حق اقطاع داری و ولایت داری
خود بستانند ایشان را منع کردن نیامده است و باز طلب آن
کردن و اُمرا را در مطالبه کشیدن مکض حیف باشد و همچنین
کارکنان و متصرفان ولایت و اقطاع اگر پنج هزار و ده هزار
خارج مواجب خود امایت کنند بجهت —

⁹⁸ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 429.

⁹⁹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 430.

ایں مقدار ایشان را فضیحت نباید کرد -

This passage¹⁰⁰ means that the Sultan's order was that if the *maliks* and *amirs* took from the revenues of their provinces a small portion varying from 1/20 or 1/22 to 1/10 or 1/15 as the fee for their services to the administration they should be allowed to do so and similarly if the *Kārḡuns* and *mutsarrifs* in addition to their pay take five or ten more in one thousand, they should not be molested and charged with corruption. But those who are found guilty of misappropriating larger sums from the public funds should be degraded and punished. Large remissions of revenue were made in times of drought and the defaulters were treated with great generosity. Even five or ten thousand *tankahs* were accepted as security where lakhs were due, and the defaulters were released on promising to make arrangement for the payment of the balance. No man was to be held in bondage for the sake of money and every facility was provided by the state to enable the people to meet their obligations without any discomfort or vexation. A strict watch was kept on the conduct of the fief-holders. They were not allowed to withhold a *dang* or *dirham* out of the salaries of their retainers. Payments were to be made promptly and regularly and if any Jagirdar realised more from his fief than the fixed amount, the transaction was cancelled by the Sultan. But even under such a mild government the Hindus were treated with great severity and were made to feel their position of inferiority in the body politic. To hold them in complete subjection the royal ordinance ran that in the matter of revenue there should be left only so much to the Hindus that neither on the one hand should they become intoxicated on account of their wealth, nor on the other hand should they become so destitute as to leave their lands and cultivation in despair.¹⁰¹ But it is not difficult to follow this harsh policy of the emperor, if it is borne in mind that religious toleration was unknown in the 14th-century and the menace of a Hindu revival always threatened the existence

¹⁰⁰ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 431.

The Bankipur text differs slightly from the Calcutta text and has only the words نیم ده یازده و یک ده پانزده instead of نیم ده یازده. The rest of the passage is identical in both texts. Other MSS. have the same thing with slight alterations. The sense of the passage is clear. What the Sultan's order lays down is a certain percentage allowed to the maliks and amirs as their remuneration over and above what the cultivators had to pay to the state.

¹⁰¹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 430.

of the Muhammadan state. It was an accepted article of faith with Muslim jurists and divines that the humiliation of the Hindus was essential for the furtherance of the cause of religion.

The Sultan was particularly generous to the needy and the indigent. It was his wish that none of his subjects should live in want and penury and beg from door to door. He wished that every Hindu and Muhammadan should have some occupation to follow and offered encouragement to the thrifty, and industrious, though unhappily in case of the Hindus the bulk of the fruits of their toil were largely appropriated by the state. A system of poor-relief was devised which Dihli had never seen before. It was his wont to summon to his court once a week officials, dependants and children and offered relief to such as were in distress. When the news of any victory or the birth of a son to the Sultan was announced, or when the purificatory ceremony of any of his sons was performed, he used to invite chiefs, nobles, learned men, scholars, teachers and pupils and lawyers and bestowed gifts upon them suitable to their rank and dignity. He was not unmindful of the claims of holy men and religious institutions and extended his patronage to them. Poets and literary men were patronised and Amir Khusrāu, the poet laureate of the empire, was held in high esteem at the court and was granted a pension of one thousand tankahs per mensem.

The departments of police and justice were organised and so great was the fear of royal justice that complete security prevailed everywhere. The high-ways were rendered safe, and order and security prevailed in all parts of the empire. Even in the remoter provinces the acts of lawlessness were few and far between, and the absence of disturbances made it possible for the people to enjoy the fruits of their industry.

The military organisation was as efficient as the civil organisation. The spirit of greed and rapine which the army had displayed during the regime of Khusrāu was effectively curbed, and out of the sums the soldiers had received from Khusrāu as the price of their support, they were allowed to keep for their use and amount equal to one year's pay, and the balance was entered in the registers of the state against their names and was to be gradually recovered from them. Sirāj-al-Mulk Khwajah Hajji was appointed general of the forces and exercised a vigilant supervision over the military department. Himself an old soldier of no mean repute, the Sultan cared for his army like a father and personally examined the accounts

of the war-office. He treated the generals of his army with his old *Camaraderie* and his simple and lovable nature won him the attachment of the humblest man in the ranks. The pay of the army was disbursed in his presence and not a pie was withheld or mis-appropriated by any one. In the actual organisation of the army the methods of 'Ala-al-Din were adopted. The cowards and the disloyal were cashiered, and vigorous measures were undertaken to introduce discipline in the army and to render it well-armed and well-accoutred. Thousands of well-equipped horsemen were enrolled and placed under the command of tried and skilled captains of war. The horses were examined minutely and branded as in the days of 'Ala-al-Din, their prices were ascertained and suitable provision was made for the maintenance of retainers. The army became strong and powerful ; its *morale* improved and as long as the Sultan lived, the armies of Dihli were successful wherever they penetrated, and the Mughals were so frightened that they never ventured to ravage the fertile plains of Hindustan.

A capable ruler and an experienced captain of war, Ghiyas-al-Din possessed a warm heart and a liberal mind. He was a model of justice and goodness and was highly considerate in his treatment of others. Like Vespasian, he despised the grandeur which his arms had won, and refused to deck himself in the trappings of royalty. Power did not intoxicate him. Towards his *quondam* colleagues he behaved with the same freedom and want of reserve as in his earlier days, and neither by word nor by action did he make them feel the inferiority of their position. He was generous to a fault towards those who had served him long and faithfully and always cared for their interests. He had a lofty idea of the duty of kingship and incessantly laboured to promote the welfare of his subjects and scrupulously eschewed everything that was likely to injure their interests. He was a pious and God-fearing Muslim who observed all the rites and practices of his faith. He kept vigils at night, observed all the hours of prayer, and never went to bed until he had repeated his prayer before sleep. Throughout the month of Ramzān he kept fast with the strictness of an orthodox Muslim and on the third night he used to perform the twenty-two genuflexions. But no persecution is recorded of him and we read of no interference with the religion of his non-muslim subjects. He extended his protection to all and probably the oner-

The Sultan's character.

ous task of re-settling the empire of Dihli disinclined him to ill-treat or molest the dissidents from the faith of the Prophet.

Nothing fosters luxury and self-indulgence more than easy success and the Muhammadans, when they seized the vast wealth and territories of Hindustan, rapidly degenerated in character. The rules of morality became lax and the nobles and amirs gave themselves up freely to dissipation and debauch. Even 'Ala-al-Din had succumbed, in spite of his over-mastering will, to the temptations which wealth and power placed in his way. The shameless orgies of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah need not be described here. But the present Sultan was an exceptional man; he had risen from poverty to power and had received his training in the school of adversity. He had fully utilised the opportunities that come to able men, humbly placed in life, to acquire the qualities of character and insight into human affairs, which are the unfailing mark of greatness. He knew well the dangers of a life of ease and therefore wisely eschewed all gait and frivolous enjoyment.

His private life was free from blemish. He did not allow "handsome beardless boys" to come near him and looked upon all immoral persons as his enemies.¹⁰² The use of liquor was forbidden and the people were asked to give up dice, and in all these matters the Sultan himself set an example to his people. Utterly devoid of guile and treachery, he enjoyed the confidence of his associates and officials, who held him in high esteem, and loyally carried out his behests. His watchword was moderation and in all that he did he kept in mind this golden rule and never acted contrary to justice and the interests of his subjects. Gifted with a certain amount of natural shrewdness and foresight, he devised regulations which established peace and order, where there had been chaos and anarchy, and by setting an example of purity and goodness he restored the lost prestige of the Turkish monarchy. The contemporary historian dwells enthusiastically upon the justice and equity of his reign and says that as long as he ruled, "the wolf dared not

¹⁰² Barani, Cal. Text, p. 443.

Barani says the Sultan was free from (لواط) unnatural lust which was probably a common vice among Muhammadans of high rank in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

In praising Muhammad Tughluq also Barani says the Sultan was free from (لواط) unnatural lust.

seize upon the lamb and the lion and the deer drank at one stream.”¹⁰³ Exaggerated as the verdict of the chronicler may seem, it, nevertheless, contains a substratum of truth, and shows what the men of his time thought of his government. The beneficent activities of the Sultan were extended to every branch of the administration, and public buildings were erected to add to the glory of the empire, and several schemes were launched, but they were cut short by his sudden death. He built the fort of Tughluqabad¹⁰⁴ and several other magnificent buildings, some of which exist to this day. By an adroit combination of tact and firmness Ghiyas-al-Din kept under control the forces of disorder and accomplished without shedding blood, what ‘Ala-al-Din had achieved by means of crooked policy, violence, and high-handed measures. Had life been granted to him, he would have introduced far-reaching reforms and constructed works of public utility. During his brief reign he did much to wipe out the disgrace which had befallen the empire of Dihli, to re-organise the administration which had fallen out of gear, and to re-establish the power of the monarchy, which had been reduced to a nullity during the Khusrauite regime.

¹⁰³ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 441.

¹⁰⁴ Ghiyas-al-Din built this town in 1321 A.D., six miles away from Shah-jahanabad. According to Sir Sayyid Ahmad the building of this fort and city was begun in 721 A.H. (1321 A.D.) and completed in 723 A.H. (1323 A.D.).

Fergusson describes it as ‘the gigantic fort of an old Pathan Chief.’ Tughluqabad belonged to the principality of Ballabgarh, but it was annexed by the British Government for the complicity of its Raja in 1857. It is now an insignificant Gujar village, the importance of which consists chiefly in its ruins. Nizam-al-Din, famous saint whose expulsion from Dihli the Sultan had ordered, prophesied of this fort.

Ya base Gūjar

Ya rahe Ūjar.

(that it shall either be inhabited by Gūjars or will remain deserted):

Carr Stephen, Archæology of Dihli, p. 92.

CHAPTER II

THE EARLY YEARS OF MUHAMMAD'S REIGN, 725-728 A.H.

After the death of his father Prince Juna ascended the throne in the fort of Tughluqabad under the title of Muhammad Tughluq in the month of Rabi-'al-awwal 725 A.H. (February, 1325 A.D.) three days after the death of his father. In accordance with ancient custom the court went into mourning, and the Prince reverentially performed the obsequies of his father. According to Barani who is followed by Yahya, Nizam-al-Din and Badāoni there was a double coronation, for, on the 40th day after having arranged all matters connected with government, the new emperor marched from Tughluqabad towards Dihli, where he seated himself on the throne of the old Sultans.¹ No revolution, no palace intrigue, no local or provincial insurrection stood in the way of his accession to the throne. The people, accustomed to such occurrences, soon forgot the murder of the late Sultan, just as their forbears had forgotten the cruel murder of the good old Firuz before the rising prosperity of his fortunate nephew. Muhammad's brothers Bahram Khan, Mubarak Khan, Masūd Khan, Nusrat Khan and Mahmud Khan are said by Barani to have been living at the time of his accession.² Bahram Khan was an adopted son of the late Sultan, and Barani has made a mistake in saying that Mahmud Khan was alive at the time of the accession of Muhammad Tughluq, for he was in all probability smashed to death with his father under the fatal structure raised by Ahmad Ayāz. Barani in the course of his narrative

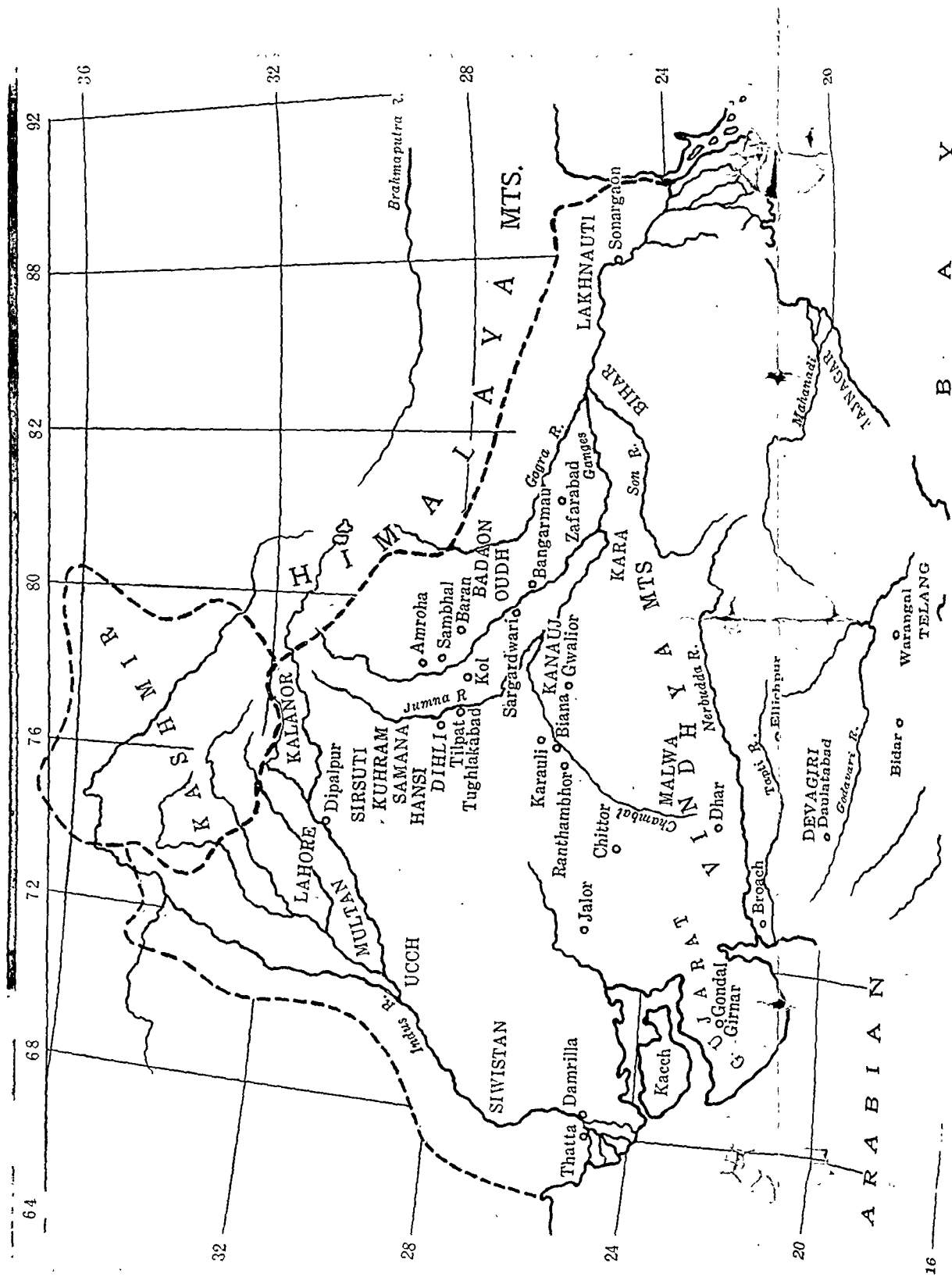
¹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 456.

بعد آراستن تخت جهانداري چهلم روز از تغلق آباد درون
شهر دهلي رفت-

² Barani, Cal. Text, p. 454.

It is stated in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that these were the titles of the Princes.

THE EMPIRE OF DELHI-1327 A. D.



Knech
 20
 21
 MALWA
 D H Y A
 N A D H Y A
 Chann
 1 o Dhar
 Nerbudda R.
 DEWAGIRI
 o Daulatabad
 Godavari R.
 A R A B I A N
 M T S
 JALNAGAR
 ahanadi

16
 16
 B A Y
 Bidar o
 Warangal
 TELANG
 Krishna R.
 Virupaksapattana
 Pennugonda
 DWARSAMUDRA
 o Dwar Samudra
 Tiruvannamalai
 Kaveri R.
 Manjarur o
 (Manglore)
 Calicut
 HOYSALAS
 Kundani
 Madura

12
 12
 B E N G A L
 23. PROVINCES.
 Dihli Devagiri Multan Kuhrum
 Samana Siwistan Uech Hansi Sirsuti
 Ma'bar Telang Gujarat Badaon Oudh
 Kanauj Lakhnauti Bihar Kara Malwa
 Lahore Kalanor Jajnager Dwarsamudra.

8
 8
 I N D I A N
 68 72 76 80 84 88

makes no further mention of the activities of the Sultan's brothers, but we learn from Ibn Batūtah that Masud was executed on the charge of rebellion and conspiracy.³ Nusrat Khan probably died during the reign otherwise, as Sir Wolseley suggests, his title would not have been conferred upon Shihāb Sultani.⁴ Sir Wolseley's surmise that Mubārak Khan was neglected, or possibly blinded early in the reign to make Muhammad's position secure is not supported by Ibn Batūtah who distinctly states that the Sultan's brother Mubarak Khan was appointed to the office of Mirdād and he sat with the Qazi in the Diwan to administer justice.⁵ No opposition seems to have been offered by Muhammad's brothers. Bahram was only an adopted son, and his claim to the throne would have found no support from the nobles, because it could not be grounded on any legal right. Mubārak Khan acquiesced in his brother's assumption of royalty, because, as Barani positively states, and we have no reason to doubt his testimony on this point, the late Sultan had declared him as his heir to the throne,⁶ and because Muhammad's undoubted abilities marked him out as a pre-eminently fit person to occupy the throne, which had been filled in the past by such renowned captains of war as 'Ala-al-Din Khilji and Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq. Muhammad had held important offices under the Khiljis and acquired considerable experience of administrative work which must have pre-disposed the nobles and officers of the state in his favour. For several years he had been *Amir Akhur* and *Vakil-i-dar* under Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah, and was the chief instrument in helping to put an end to the regime of the unclean Khusrau. He was equally gifted with warlike qualities. As Crown Prince he had led expeditions in the Deccan against the Hindu chiefs, and had in one of his campaigns obtained a victory over the stubborn Pratap Rudra Deva II, the Kākatīya Raja of Warangal of which an account has been given in the last chapter. The empire which Muhammad inherited extended over a large part of the Indian peninsula; in

³ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 292.

Masud was not the Sultan's own brother, for Ibn Batūtah writes that his mother was stoned to death on a charge of adultery, III, p. 292.

⁴ J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 367.

⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 287.

⁶ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 456.

Barani writes:—

سلطان محمد بن تغلق شاه که وليعهد سلطان تغلق شاه بود

the north it included the whole of the Gangetic valley, the plains of the Punjab as far as Lahore and the entire strip of land stretching from the Indus down to Kambayat and Gujarat; in the east it comprised Bengal and towards the close of his life Ghiyas had reasserted his authority over Lakhnauti and Sonargaon. In the central region that lies between the Gangetic plain and the Deccan, Dhar, Malwa, Ujjain and Gwalior acknowledged the suzerainty of Dihli. Further south, the empire exercised sway over the eastern portion of Khandesh, Berar, Haiderabad and a strip of land along the eastern coast of the modern Madras Presidency. There is clear evidence to prove that the imperial arms had penetrated as far as Rajmundri or the eastern Madras coast. The present Sultan had gone there as Crown Prince in his father's reign in 1324 A.D. and had built a mosque as is shown by an inscription dated Monday, 10th September, 1324 A.D.⁷ In Rajputana the famous state of Mewar recognised the authority of the Dihli government till the end of the reign of Tughluq Shah as is evidenced by an inscription of Tughluq Shah and Asadal-Din Arslān, his nephew, discovered in the fort of Chittor.⁸ The inscription is broken on the right side and the first and fourth part of each verse is missing. Asad-al-Din was appointed *naib Barbak* by Tughluq Shah immediately after his accession. The building to which the inscription refers was most probably a mosque built by Asad-al-Din Arslān, and the inscription shows that, during the reign of Tughluq Shah, Chittor, at any rate, was subject to the Sultan of Dihli. But Chittor tried to recover its

⁷ Here is the translations of the inscription on the mosque built by Prince Juna.

- " This mosque was built during the reign of the great Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din, the Sultan (may God perpetuate his kingdom and sovereignty) and through the ever-increasing *iqbal* (fortune) of the lord of the world, the blessed 'Ulugh Khan, by this humble servant, who solicits the mercy of God, Salar alwi built this mosque on the 20th of the blessed Ramzan (may its blessings be universal), 724 A.H.=Monday, 10th, 1324 A.D."

For a copy of this inscriptions I am indebted to the A. A. S. for epigraphy Southern Circle, Madras.

⁸ Through the kindness of R. B. Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha, curator, Provincial Museum, Ajmer, I have been able to obtain a copy of this inscription which was discovered in the fort of Chittor. A part of it is missing.

[" The lord of the country, throne, signet, and crown like Solomon; world illuminator like the Sun, nay, the shadow of God, the greatest of all the foundations of justice have become strong. He died on the 3rd Jumada I. May God accept this act of charity and may He reward him for his righteous motive athousand times more.

independence under Rana Hammīr, who had succeeded to the *Gaddi* in 1301 A.D. by marrying the daughter of Raja Maldeva, the Sonigra chief, who had been placed in charge of that fort by 'Ala-al-Din. The Rajput chronicles speak of a fight between the Dihli emperor and the Rana of Mewar, but there is much confusion in the names of the rulers concerned. Tod relates that after 'Ala-al-Din's death Rana Hammīr rapidly recovered his power, and drove away Maldeva, the imperial governor of Mewar. The Khilji king Mahmud invaded Mewar, but he was defeated at Singoli and taken prisoner by Hammīr who slew Hari Singh, brother of Banvir (Mal-Deva's son).⁹ The Khilji king remained confined in Chittor for three months, and was not liberated until he had surrendered Ajmer, Rantambhor, Nagor and Sooespur, besides paying 50 *lakhs* of rupees and 100 elephants. Tod's account is not correct for there was no such king as Mahmud of the Khilji dynasty. Tod certainly does not mean Maḥmud Khilji of Malwa, for he says later that the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa formed a league against Kumbha and in 1440 A.D. at the head of a large army they invaded Mewar.¹⁰ Kumbha met them with a large force consisting of one *lakḥ* of horse and foot and 1,400 elephants, defeated them, and carried as a captive to Chittor Mahmud, the Khilji sovereign of Malwa. Erskine in his Rajputana Gazetteer gives a different account.¹¹ He says, Muhammad Tughluq came down with a large army, but he was defeated and taken prisoner at Singoli, close to the eastern border of Mewar and was not released till he had paid a large ransom said to have been 50 *lakhs* of rupees and 100 elephants and ceded several districts. In view of the inscription to which allusion has been made before and the increased prosperity of Mewar under Hammīr, we cannot doubt the truth of the native annals. As Mewar was subject to Dihli till the reign of Tughluq Shah, the king who was defeated by the Mewar forces could be no other than Muhammad Tughluq or one of his generals, though the annotator of Tod's annals positively asserts that it was Muhammad Tughluq.¹² This victory of Hammir must have occurred early in Muhammad's reign. A Jain temple inscription of Rana Kumbha's time dated Samvat 1495 (1438

⁹ Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan edited by Crooke, I, pp. 318-19.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 335.

¹¹ Erskine, Rajputana Gazetteer, II-A, p. 16.

¹² Footnote to page 319 in Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan edited by Crooke, I, p. 319.

A.D.) states that Hammīr defeated a Muhammadan army. The fact that a Dihli army marched into Mewar after Tughluq Shah's death is established, but it does not seem to have been accompanied by the Sultan himself, for he was much too busy with the preliminary settlement of his empire and the plans of conquest in the Deccan. The details furnished by Rajput chronicles may be right or wrong, for they are uncorroborated, but this much is certain that the imperial authority received a set back. Hammīr embarked upon a career of ceaseless conquests. The local annals relate that the princes of Marwar, Jaipur, Bundi, Gwalior, Chanderi, Raisin, Sikri, Kalpi and Abu with a number of lesser states paid homage to Hammir and recognised him as the paramount Prince in Rajputana.¹³ This is undoubtedly an exaggeration, and the over-lordship of Hammīr amounted to nothing more than a mere recognition of the premier position of Mewar among Rajput states. The difficulties and troubles of the Sultan of Dihli favoured the rise of Mewar. Hammīr enlarged his territories by making fresh conquests in Nagor and Surashtra and increased the prosperity of his country by raising works of public utility and grimly set himself to the task of removing every vestige of Muhammadan conquest. Rajputana was henceforward practically cut off from the Dihli empire and for several generations the Hindu princes, secure in their fortresses, were left free to pursue their own schemes of aggrandisement without any interference from Dihli.

The Deccan and the far South had been conquered by Malik Kafur, but the Muslims had never acquired a firm foothold in that difficult and intractable region. Ghiyas had reasserted his authority over Telingana and the Maharashtra country, but the Hoysala king Vir Ballāla III had withheld allegiance to Dirli. He was fighting ceaselessly against the Muslims in the South and his efforts were so far successful that he was able at last to build up a large dominion which had three capitals—Dwarsamudra in Mysore, Kundani in Salem and Tiruvannamalai in North Arcot. The Deccan was far from being completely subdued, but the northern portion of the empire was in a peaceful state in 1325 A.D. and this tranquillity was largely the result of the mild government of Tughluq Shah who had wounded no feelings and who had scrupulously abstained from over-government.

¹³ Tod's *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, I, p. 320.

The problems of the empire which confronted Muhammad Tughluq were not so difficult as they had been under Balban and 'Ala-al-Din. Both these rulers had been troubled by the frontier question which had taxed their resources to the uttermost. The forward policy of 'Ala-al-Din had greatly minimised the chances of Mughal danger, but the hostility of the Hindu Rajas, the overweening claims of the native nobility, the orthodox prejudices of the clerical party and its ambition to dominate the state were dangers which the Muslim government in India had still to face. But the task of the new Sultan, though not so formidable as that of Balban and 'Ala-al-Din was certainly more trying than that of his father who had appeared on the scene at a favourable crisis in the history of the Dihli Sultanate. Although he could not boast of a high pedigree, he was welcomed by all classes, because he gave them the much coveted gifts of peace and order and ended the Khusrauite regime. Muhammad's difficulty was of a two-fold nature; he had to satisfy the old nobility by assuring them that although there was no blue blood in his veins he meant to rule according to their advice, and that he deserved their confidence. Secondly, he had to remove the suspicion which still lurked in the popular mind that he was the author of his father's death. Muhammad who was one of the ablest men of the age behaved with great tact. He knew full well that gorgeous display of splendour accompanied by liberal gifts to all sections of the population touched the imagination of the people of Hindustan more than anything else and were as effective in securing loyalty and devotion as the strokes of skilful diplomacy. The streets of the city were decorated with festoons of flowers, the castles of the nobility as well as the dwellings of the humble were adorned and at the head of a stately procession which included in the front and rear well caparisoned elephants 'laden with gold and silver' which was scattered among the people, the Sultan made his triumphal entry into the capital. There was no declaration of policy, no foretaste of the innovations which he practised afterwards to the disgust of his people and the detriment of his empire. To allay the apprehensions of the public who feared and admired him and to placate the nobles, he made large and generous gifts. Then, there was the prompting of nature which was liberal to a fault, and has been eulogised by all who came in contact with him. Tatar Khan, the governor of Sonargaon and the adopted son of Ghiyas-al-

Din Tughluq was given the title of Bahram Khan and received one hundred elephants, a crore of golden *tankahs* and two thousand horses. To Malik Sanjar Badakhshāni were given eighty lakhs of *tankahs* and Bahadur Shah, the dispossessed ruler of Bengal, was restored to his former dignity, and received a large treasure, a dexterous move, as Edward Thomas points out, to show clearly that Bahadur was nothing more than an ordinary provincial governor transferable at will, though his claims to imperial succession rested on a surer and legal basis. To signify his esteem for Bahadur, the Sultan agreed that the names of both should appear together on the coins struck at Sonargaon, and there are coins of the years 725—31 A.H. bearing the names of both.¹⁴ Ibn Batūtah also distinctly states that Bahadur acknowledged the supremacy of Muhammad Tughluq over Eastern Bengal, and was given wealth, elephants and horses and admitted to royal favour.¹⁵ Malik-al-mulk 'Imād-al-Din obtained seventy *lakhs* of *tankahs* and Sayyid 'Azd-al-Dowlah, a tutor of the Sultan became the recipient of forty lakhs and a pension of one hundred *lakhs* of *tankahs* per annum was granted to Malik Bahram Ghaznīn. The bounty of the new monarch was lavishly extended to other functionaries of the state and learned men, and Maulana Nasir Tawīl, Qazi-Kasmah, Khudāwandzadah Ghiyas-al-Din, Qiwām-al-Din and Nāsir Kafi received several *lakhs* from the exchequer of the state. To the disciples and followers of Shaikh Nizam-al-Din Aulia the Sultan granted lands and allowances, and endowed the Shaikh's tomb with twelve *parganahs* for the purpose of providing

¹⁴ J.A.S.B., 1922, XVIII, pp. 423-24.

J.A.S.B., 1874, pp. 83, 290.

J.A.S.B., Numismatic Supplement, XVI, pp. 699-700.

J.A.S.B., Numismatic Supplement, XXXV, pp. 152-53.

Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Royal Numismatic Society, Parts I and II, Fifth Series, Nos. 13 and 14, p. 98.

Lane Poole, The Coins of the Muhammadan States of India in the British Museum, p. 11.

Barani, Cal. Text, p. 461.

¹⁵ Ibn Batūtah writes that on Bahadur's restoration to his former dignity the Sultan appointed his nephew Ibrahim Khan who was to share the sovereignty with him and his name was also to appear on the coins along with the name of Bahadur. Ibn Batutah has made a mistake in calling Bahram Khan Ibrahim Khan. Bahram Khan, as has been said, was an adopted son of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq. Ibn Batūtah III, pp. 316-17.

Ibn Batūtah's Text (Paris Ed.) has Ghiyas-al-Din Burah (غیاث) while another text has Bhanora, (بھنورا)

food for the poor and offering incense at the shrine.¹⁶ The Sultan was devoted to the Shaikh, and this was probably done to signify his gratitude for the help he had given in securing the throne. Maulana Nāsir-al-Din and Malik Ghazi, the poet, were granted a pension of one *lakḥ* a year which shows that royal patronage was extended to men of all classes. Barani gives a long list of officers upon whom titles were conferred, and who were entrusted with important duties.¹⁷ The fame of the Sultan's liberality spread far and wide and brought to Dihli some of the most learned men from the different parts of Asia who were fitly honoured by their royal benefactor. Before the outflow of this somewhat prodigal generosity, no opposition could be offered, and no wonder if men warmly welcomed their new ruler. Men's memories are short; and in the minds of many the young ruler must have been excused the guilt of parricide.

A fresh redistribution of offices followed. Malik Firuz, his cousin was appointed *naib Bārbak* (deputy Chamberlain) and Malik Bedar Khilji¹⁸ who was honoured with the title of Qadar Khan was placed in charge of Lakhnauti on the death of Nāsir-al-Din Khilji. Maulana Qiyām-al-Din, the Sultan's tutor received the title of Qutlugh Khan and was appointed *Vakil-i-dar*. Malik Maqbūl or Qabūl became *Wazir-i-mamālik* under the distinguished title of 'Imād-al-mulk, while the son of Qutlugh Khan received a jagir for his maintenance in Gujarat. Ahmad Ayāz, the royal engineer, who had built the fatal pavilion at Afghanpur, received, perhaps as a reward for his services, the title of Khwaja Jahan and the office of *Wazir-al-mulk*. The province of Gujarat was entrusted to Malik Maqbūl who was elevated to the rank of Khan-i-Jahan. Malik Shihāb-al-Din was entrusted with the duty of superintending the activities of merchants and traders and was appointed *Malik-al-Tujjār* (Chief of the merchants) and the district of Navsari¹⁹ was assigned to him in jagir. The provincial governors began their work

¹⁶ Matlub-al-Talibin, India Office MS. f. 111.

¹⁷ Barani, Cal. Text, pp. 454-55.

¹⁸ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* MS. has Malik Pindar Khilji which is a mistake.

¹⁹ Navsāri is situated in the Baroda state in 20° 57' N. and 72° 56' E. 147 miles from Bombay, with which it is connected by main line of B.B.C.I. Railway. It is the same as Ptolemy's Nasaripa.

Imp. Gaz., XVIII, p. 425.

in obedience to royal commands, and a great improvement was discernible in all branches of the administration.

The earliest rebellion of Muhammad's reign was that of his cousin (father's sister's son) Bahā-al-Din Gashtāsp in 727 A.H.²⁰

Barani makes no mention of this rebellion, though in one place he speaks of him as Sultan Tughluq Shah's sister's son. Ibn Batūtah is the only contemporary writer who gives a detailed account of the rebellion. He also calls him Sultan Tughluq Shah's sister's son, but his information regarding the rebellion must have been obviously derived from persons whom he met in Hindustan after his arrival. Even Ibn Batūtah, though he mentions the rebellion among the earliest events of Muhammad's reign, gives no date. The only earlier authority that favours us with a date is the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* which places it towards the close of 727 A.H. after the transfer of the capital to Devagiri. Badāoni copies this history as appears from his narrative, but makes a mistake in saying that the rebellion occurred in Dihli. Firishta in the sequence of events rightly places this rebellion before the transfer of the capital, and says that it was during this rebellion that the Sultan was much pleased with the situation of Devagiri and considered it more central than Dihli. But his date 739 A.H. is incorrect, for if we accept his order of events, the rebellion must take place sometime in 727 A.H. before the transfer of the capital, which was certainly effected in this year as is established by numismatic evidence. Hajji-ad-Dabir's authority Husām Khan whom he often quotes gives a brief account of the rebellion, but his chronology is highly defective. Robert Sewell also accepts 727 A.H. which receives

²⁰ Bahā-al-Din's surname is differently spelt in different texts. It is Gashtāsb (گشت اشب) in Ibn Batūtah (III, p. 318) Malik Bahadur Gashbashb (گشباشب) in Yahya, Garshasm (گر شاسم) in Badāoni (Text, I, p. 227) and Garshasp (گر شاسپ) in Firishta (Lucknow Text, p. 135). Firishta writes غم زاده سامان محمد شاه which is a mistake of the scribe. Barani in one place calls him Tughluq Shah's sister's son.

Badāoni copies Yahyā as appears from his text :

در آخر سنه مذکور ملک دیهان گر شاسب عارض لشکر در شهر
دهلی خروج کرده -

But my text of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* does not contain the words 'In the city of Delhi.'

support from Hindu sources.²¹ Baha-al-Din who is described by Yahyā and Badāoni as '*ariz-i-Lashikār*' (Commander of the forces) held the fief of Sagar,²² which is at a distance of seven miles north of Sholapur in the Deccan. The cause of the rebellion is described by Ibn Batutah who says that the rebel who was a brave man refused to owe fealty to Muhammad Tughluq on his accession to the throne. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* does not mention the cause of the revolt, but Firishta clearly states that his ambition to usurp sovereignty led him to conspire with the Deccan Amirs with whose help he increased his forces, and acquired much influence in the country. Apparently, Bahā-al-Din counted for success upon the distance that divided him from the capital, and the pressure of more urgent engagements upon the Sultan. According to Firishta, some of the nobles who were true to their master's salt opposed him, but his power became so formidable that he compelled them by force of arms to seek shelter in the fort of Mandu. When the news of the revolt reached the Sultan, he sent Khwaja Jahan and Malik Majir with the entire forces of Gujarat at their command to chastise the rebel. The hostile armies faced each other before Devagiri. Bahā-al-Din and his officers fought with great courage, but at last he lost the day owing to the defection of one of his principal commandants Khizr Bahrām with all his men. The royal army followed up its victory, and reduced to sore straits by an unexpected turn of events, Gashtasp fled to Sagar, but finding that the imperialists would not spare him on any account, he fled to the Raja of Kampil,²³ a notable prince in the Deccan, with all his family and belongings and sought shelter with him. In this hilly and inaccessible region, the royal forces pursued the rebel and laid siege to the town. Khwajah Jahan pushed on the siege, but he was defeated in two hotly contested engagements. Soon after reinforcements came from Devagiri, and the hostile armies engaged each other for the third time in battle. The Rai's supplies and treasure were wellnigh exhausted, and he was defeated and taken prisoner.²⁴ Firishta's account is

²¹ Lists of Antiquities, Madras, II, p. 161.

The date 738 A.H. (1337-38 A.D.) given by the French translators of Ibn Batūtah in their Chronological summary is incorrect.

Ibn Batūtah, III. Introduction, p. xx.

²² Sagar is near Gulbarga.

²³ Kampil or Kampli on the river Tungbhadra is in the Bellary district in Madras near Vijaynagar.

²⁴ Firishta, Lucknow text, p. 136.

somewhat different from that given by Ibn Batūtah. Were it not for the fact that Ibn Batūtah, though no eyewitness of these events, met the surviving sons of the Rai who may have informed him of their father's fate, it would have been difficult to choose between these two authorities in regard to this particular incident.²⁵ The traveller writes that the Rai of Kampil, when he saw escape impossible, caused a funeral pyre to be erected and informed his wives and daughters that he had resolved to burn himself in the flames. One by one the brave matrons came out of their apartments to give proof of their devotion, and having performed their ablution and pasted their bodies with sandal, they kissed the ground and consigned themselves to the flames. Some of the nobles and ministers of the Rai, overpowered with grief at this tragic sight, followed the example of their chief to signify their devotion to him. Last of all, the Rai, having put on his armour, rushed upon the imperialists and lost his life in the encounter. The royal army entered the city and began to harass the inhabitants. Eleven sons of the Rai were captured and brought before the Sultan. They embraced Islam and in recognition of their father's gallantry in the field of battle the Sultan elevated them to the rank of *amirs* and granted them *mansabs*. Ibn Batūtah, who saw three of them on his arrival in India gives the names of two as Nasr and Bakhtiyar and describes the third as Al-muhardar, an officer who used to keep the royal seals.²⁶ Driven to bay, Gashtasp fled to Vir Ballāla III, the Hoysala Prince, who was residing at Tonnur in the Mysore district.²⁷ Frightened by the

Ibn Batūtah corrects Firishta in material particulars, and his account is too detailed to be a mere invention.

²⁵ Ibn Batūtah writes that the third son of the Rai whom he mentions as Al-muhardar was a great friend of his, III, p. 320.

This man may have related to the traveller the story of the fall of his house.

The Portuguese Chronicler Nuniz who wrote in the fifteenth century relying mainly upon tradition also gives an account of this rebellion.

According to the Hindus the cause of the invasion of Kampil was the lust of conquest, while Ibn Batūtah says, it was caused by the flight of Bahā-al-Din to the Rai. The Hindu tradition says that none of the royal family survived the attack, while Ibn Batūtah positively asserts that the Rai had eleven sons some of whom he met in India. Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 18.

²⁶ The Paris edition of Ibn Batūtah has Nasar, while another text has Nūsir. Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 320.

²⁷ Tradition says, he was residing at Tondanur or Tonnur in Mysore, but in 1321 A.D. (Gu 69) we find him living at Arunasamudra which may possibly be in this neighbourhood and Hg. 98, represents him as residing at Unnamale in South Arcot.

fate of the Rai of Kampil, Ballāla showed no hospitality to the fugitive rebel, and made him over to the imperial general Khwaja Jahan. Firishta's statement that Ballāla acknowledged the supremacy of the Dihli Sultan is supported neither by Ibn Batūtah nor by the numerous inscriptions of Ballāla that are available to us. If he ever recognised the sovereignty of the Dihli Sultan, such recognition must have been merely nominal dictated by a temporary necessity. Bound hand and foot, the captive governor was dispatched to Dihli, where he was flayed alive and paraded in the streets, while the executioner by way of warning to other like-minded miscreants uttered the words: 'Thus shall those guilty of treason perish.'²⁸ Ibn Batūtah relates that the culprit was taken into the *haram* where his female relatives up-braided him and spat upon him. At last, he was flayed alive and his flesh was cooked with rice and sent to his family.²⁹ Ibn Batūtah's statement that the corpses of Bahā-al-Din and Ghiyas-al-Din Bahadur of Bengal were stuffed with bran and paraded together in the empire is incorrect, for Bahadur's rebellion occurred three or four years afterwards.³⁰

During the early years of his reign Muhammad introduced the first of those measures which have been severely condemned by historians. It was the taxation in the Doab. Among contemporary writers only Barani makes mention of it but he gives no date. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* places it in 729 A.H. after the invasion of Tarmāshrīn Khan, but does not say like Badāoni that the enhancement of the tax in the Doab was intended to punish the refractory inhabitants of that region, and it is not clear on what authority Badāoni relied for making this statement.³¹ Firishta³² describes it as one of the earliest measures of the reign and mentions it among

²⁸ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 136.

²⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 321.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 321-22.

³¹ Badāoni, Cal. Text, I, p. 228.

He writes:—

در این ایام راءے سلطان چنان اقتضا کرد کہ از بس کہ
رعایای میان دو آب سرکشی دارند خراج آن ولایت ده بیست
مقرر سازند -

³² Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 134.

Briggs, I, p. 414.

the events of the year 727 A.H. Sir Wolseley Haig accepts Badāoni's date and writes that in 730 A.H. Muhammad introduced two most disastrous measures—the enhancement of the assessment of the land in the Doab and the issue of his fictitious brass currency, which was an attempt to make brass tokens pass current as silver coins. He also accepts Badaoni's statement that the enhancement of the assessment was intended to be both a punitive measure and a means of replenishing the treasury.³³ A close examination of the accounts of contemporary and later authorities leads to the conclusion that the enhancement was effected sometime towards the close of 727 A.H. Yahyā's statement that it was carried out in 729 A.H. after the invasion of Tarmāshrīn does not seem to be probable. Barani writes that when the Sultan returned to Dihli after having defeated Bahrām Aibai, he stayed there for two years, and, according to him at that time the country of the Doab was brought to ruin by the heavy taxation and the numerous cesses.³⁴ This is what he writes:—

در آن دو سال که سلطان در دهلي بود ولايت میان دوآب
از شداید مطالبه و بسياري ابواب خراب شد -

Very probably this refers to the rigorous collection of taxes and cesses during the two years the Sultan stayed at Dihli after the suppression of the revolt of Bahram Aiba. After the completion of his conquests the Sultan had engaged himself in reorganising the system of revenue as appears from the account of Barani who says that soon after Muhammad's accession tributes came regularly from the various provinces of the empire, among which he includes Telang, Kampil, Dwarsamudra and Mabbar which were not conquered until the close of 727 A.H.³⁵ The revision of taxation in the Doab seems to have been part of a general scheme of re-settlement of the revenue system which the Sultan enforced as soon as his authority was established over the different parts of the empire.

³³ J.R.A.S., 1922, pp. 342-43.

³⁴ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 473.

Buhar MS. f. 144 b.

Bankipore MS. f. 231 a.

(But the order of folios in this MS. has been revised since I consulted it.)

India Office MS. f. 300 a.

³⁵ Barani, Cal. Text, pp. 468-69.

Barani, who gives the first place to this scheme of taxation among the causes of the decline of Muhammad's empire, writes that it brought about the ruin of the country and the decay of the people and his view is adopted by Nizam-al-Din and Firishta. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who is an earlier authority than Nizam-al-Din and Firishta, describes the measure as a process of assessment, and Hajji-ad-Dabir following some text of Barani ascribes it to the emptiness of the treasury.³⁶ Modern writers have attributed the enhancement to the drain on the treasury which was caused by the reckless prodigality of the Sultan, though Mr. Gardner Brown is inclined to consider it as a necessary and proper measure, for the Doab was the most prosperous part of the empire and could well bear—as 'Ala-al-Din had shown—a higher rate than was usually imposed.³⁷ It is true, the Sultan had spent huge sums of money in celebrating his coronation, and had awarded rich gifts to the nobility and the common people. But subsequent events make it clear that he was by no means confronted with bankruptcy. The chief motive seems to have been to obtain revenue in order to be able to increase his military resources and to organise the administration on an efficient basis. It was an administrative measure for which there was a precedent. The Doab was, as it had long been, the richest and most fertile part of Hindustan, and its refractory inhabitants had given not a little trouble to the rulers of Dihli. There is plenty of evidence of this in Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* which describes at length the attempts of the later Tughluqs to suppress the rebellions in the Doab. Whenever a change of dynasties or rulers occurred, the people of the Doab were the first to revolt, and civil wars often broke out in which the rival protagonists changed sides with astonishing rapidity and fought with a savage ferocity. The importance of the Doab has continued unabated, and every adventurer who rose to the surface in the 18th century coveted its possession and exerted himself to establish his hold upon it. Even Mahdaji Sindhia, one of the ablest and most farseeing statesmen of the period deemed it necessary to establish himself in the Doab in order to keep his hold over the decrepit empire of the Mughals. It is almost a truism to say that whoever possesses the Doab and keeps its inhabitants under firm

³⁶ T. M. MS.

³⁷ Journal, U. P. Historical Society, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 11-12.

✓control not only acquires possession of vast material resources, but commands the whole of Hindustan. 'Ala-al-Din had harshly dealt with the *Khūts*, *muqaddams* and *Balāhars* of the Doab, who possessed the great reservoir of wealth upon which the rulers of Dihli could draw in time of need for the maintenance of their power. He had raised the land tax to 50 per cent and levied in addition to this a house tax and a grazing tax.³⁸ Ghiyas seems to have maintained this rate, but he was especially careful to avoid inequitable enhancement, for the Hindus were treated severely, and Barani writes that only a bare subsistence was left to them.³⁹ Muhammad had no capable minister like Sharaf Qai to carry out thoroughly the work of assessment, nor was his scheme of revised taxation enforced at an opportune moment. He felt that the Doab did not contribute enough to the revenues of the state, and therefore decided to enhance the taxes. Mr. Gardner Brown's statement that the new taxation was not heavy, indeed, lighter than was subsequently levied is not justified by facts, for Firuz levied 1/10th as the right of *Sharb* or irrigation with the advice of the doctors of the law in addition to the *Khiraj* allowed by the orthodox school. The *Fawāyad-i-Firuz Shahi*, a work on Muslim law, written during the reign of Firuz Shah, divides *Khiraj* into two classes—the *Khiraj-i-Wazīfah*, i.e., the fixed tribute in the shape of money or grain which was taken from the conquered and the *Khiraj-i-muqāsimah* which ranged from 25 per cent to 50 per cent, the last rate being the maximum allowed.⁴⁰ There is no evidence in the contemporary works to the effect that the maximum was ever reached under Firuz. On the contrary, we read of the cheapness of prices and of the abolition of as many as 23 taxes during his reign.⁴¹

The contemporary chronicler Barani takes a gloomy view of the Sultan's policy and writes: "Another measure which conduced to the ruin of the country and the people was the taxation in the Doab, which was increased ten and twenty times. To put into effect this scheme of the Sultan, his *Kārḳuns* created such *awābs* or cesses as broke the backs of the ryots. These *awābs* were demanded with such rigour that the ryots were reduced to impotence, poverty and

³⁸ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 287.

³⁹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 430.

⁴⁰ *Fawāyād-i-Firuz Shahi*, A.S.B. MS. f. 199 b.

⁴¹ *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bankipore MS.

ruin. Those who were well off and owned property became rebels. The land was ruined and cultivation was greatly diminished. The ryots of distant provinces, having heard of the fate of the people of the Doab, through fear of similar demands being made from them, withdrew their allegiance and sought shelter in the woods. The decline of cultivation, the ruin of the ryots, the failure of the convoys of corn from distant provinces produced a famine in Dihli and its neighbourhood and the country of the Doab. Rain did not fall at the same time and the famine continued for several years. Thousands of people perished of want and communities were scattered and households were broken up. The glory of the empire of Muhammad began to decline from this time."⁴² An important question for consideration is the actual enhancement ordered by the Sultan. The India Office MS. of Barani as well as other MSS. that I have utilised have *خراج دواب يکي ده و يکي ده بیست* which literally interpreted means that the Sultan raised the *Khiraj* of the Doab ten and twenty times.⁴³ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* also has *خراج دواب يکي ده و يکي ده بیست* but to this increase in the land tax are added the *ghari* (house tax) and the *Charāhi* (pasture tax) which had been levied by 'Alā-āl-Din previously. A census of the residential houses was taken and the cattle were branded. The produce was estimated, and the market rates were fixed by the Sultan. These regulations weighed heavily upon the people who drove away their cattle into the jungles for purposes of grazing.⁴⁴ Badaoni copies the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, but instead of *خراج دواب يکي ده و يکي ده بیست* he writes:—

خراج آن ولایت ده بیست مقرر سازند -

which Ranking translates by saying that the Sultan doubled the tax in the Doab.⁴⁵ In transcribing the passage from the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* Badaoni makes another alteration namely that the measure was intended to punish the refractory inhabitants of the

⁴² Barani, Cal. Text, p. 473.

⁴³ This is the reading in all texts of Barani. I have consulted many Persian scholars regarding the meaning of this phrase, and they all agree in saying that it means ten instead of one and twenty instead of one.

⁴⁴ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS.

⁴⁵ Ranking, Al-Badaoni, I, p. 305.

Doab. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad who generally follows Barani for this reign writes :

خراج تمام ولایت میان دوآب را یکی بدہ قرار دادہ ادواب چند
برائے ایس امر پیدا کرد۔

which means that the tax was raised from one to ten and not ten per cent as Mr. De suggests in his translation.⁴⁶ Firishta differs from all these and writes : ده چهل و ده سي which means that the Sultan raised tax from ten to thirty and forty in the Doab.⁴⁷ Hajji-ad-Dabir is more explicit when he says that the land which brought one *tankah* since the days of Islamic conquest now brought ten and twenty *tankahs*.

All these writers take an exaggerated view of the effects of the revised taxation which though not fundamentally excessive was introduced at a very unfavourable moment. Barani says, rain did not fall, and convoys of corn did not come from the provinces owing to drought. It does not appear that the Sultan exceeded the legal maximum of 50 per cent which had been reached under 'Ala-al-Din, and Barani expresses himself in a hyperbole when he says that the tax was raised ten and twenty times. This is a familiar mode of expression in Hindustan. Elliot mistranslates the original passage when he writes that the Sultan thought he ought to get ten or five per cent more tribute from the lands in the Doab.⁴⁸ Ten or five per cent more would not be so heavy as to break the backs of the ryots whereas ten and twenty times would be perfectly absurd. The tax was felt as a burden by the population accompanied as it was by the *gharī* and *Charāhi* and the inquisitorial proceedings of state officials, and Barani speaks of such *abwābs* as the ryots could not pay. Famine aggravated the situation further, and the scarcity of fodder more than the undue heaviness of the cesses obliged them to drive their cattle to the woods.

Barani's remarks deserve a close examination. The highly coloured picture of the Sultan's policy drawn by him is largely due to the fact that he belonged to a party with whose ideals and opi-

⁴⁶ Tabqāt-i-Akbari, Cal. Text, p. 202.

Also English Translation by Mr. De, p. 213.

Lucknow Text, p. 101.

⁴⁷ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 134.

⁴⁸ Elliot, III, p. 238.

nions the Sultan did not sympathise. But since he was an eye-witness of official doings, his remarks cannot be lightly dismissed. All taxation is unpopular even in modern times, and Muhammad's new scheme, coming as it did after a period of ease, was bound to cause discontent. That it caused distress and was resented by the people is beyond a shadow of doubt: Much of it was due to the severity that was practised by the officials in the realisation of these cesses, and we learn from Ibn Batūtah that officers were venal in those days. Hājji-ad-Dabīr, following Barani's text, says that during the two years the Sultan stayed at Dihli (728 A.H.—730 A.H.) a great ruin was brought about by the rigorous collection of the cesses in the Doab. The cattle were sold, corn stacks were burnt and the ryots were treated with merciless cruelty. In sheer despair they also broke out into rebellion and killed the officers of the state.⁴⁹ It is certainly a hyperbole to say that the ryots of distant countries, on hearing of the distress and ruin of the people of the Doab, broke out into rebellion and "threw off their allegiance," for at this time the Sultan was engaged in establishing his authority in the different parts of his empire and exacting obedience from all classes of his subjects. To make matters worse, a famine occurred at this time and there is nothing to show that the Sultan relaxed the severity of his demands. These continued as usual, and under the double pressure of an inexorable state demand and the depression of the agricultural industry owing to drought, the ryots must have suffered heavily. When they tried to escape from the enhanced impost, they were severely punished. Barani's story of the expedition to Baran, where according to him, the Sultan hunted men like wild beasts, is to be ascribed to his patriotic indignation at the punishments inflicted upon the people of his own native district for their inability to meet the demands of the state.⁵⁰ Mr. Gardner Brown

⁴⁹ Hājji-ad-Dabīr clearly says that when the officers of the state employed rigour in collecting the taxes and practised oppression, the people rebelled in despair and abandoned their fields.

⁵⁰ Barani, Cal. Text, pp. 479-80.

This is what Barani writes :

و همدراں ايام سلطان محمد بر طريق شكار در ولايت
 برن رفت و فرمان داد تا تمامي ولايت برن را زهاب و تاراج کردند
 و سرهاے هندوان آوردند و کنگوها حصار برن بياويختند -

exonerates the Sultan from all blame and says that the sufferings of the people were more due to want of rain than to heavy taxation. Even if the taxation were light, considering the normal prosperity of the Doab, was it not the duty of the administration to restore the tax to its former level or to reduce it as soon as famine conditions were known? But famine was not officially declared or recognised, and no measures of relief were undertaken to cope with it, though much was done later by the Sultan, when a similar calamity befell the country. Famine doubtless aggravated the distress of the people, but in the beginning it was not so serious as to cause widespread disturbances in the empire. The work of resettling the empire proceeded apace, and the Sultan successfully planned expeditions against the rebels. How could this be possible, if the situation had been so serious as Barani represents it to be? Although it would be wrong to call this measure a freak of disordered fancy, it must be pronounced to be an ill-devised expedient, scarcely capable of being defended on political or economic grounds. That the people rebelled under a painful necessity cannot be doubted, and if political disturbances occurred in the Doab,—a most sensitive part of Hindustan,—the blame rests upon the administration and not upon the people. The Sultan lost all patience, when his cherished schemes failed. He became more and more self-centred and began to think of experiments, which tended to alienate from him the sympathies of his subjects, and which produced a great deal of unrest in the country.

In 727-28 A.H. just after the transfer of the capital of which a separate account will be given in another chapter, when the Sultan was adopting vigorous measures to repeople the new metropolis of Islam, he had to march against the rebellious chief of Kondhana⁵¹ near Junir. The fort of the chief was built on the summit of a rock and commanded an impregnable position. nāyāk, the ruler of the place, fought gallantly at the head of his

Suppression of
the Prince of
Kondhana.

⁵¹ Kondhana is modern Singarh.

Bombay Gaz., Vol. XVII, Pt. II, pp. 215, 226, 591.

Grant Duff says it is the fort of Singurh, the same as Singhad, eight miles south of Poona.

It was called Kondhana by the Muhammadans, but afterwards its name was changed to Singurh by Shivaji who captured it in 1647 A.D.

History of the Marathas, Vol. I, pp. 62, 73, 109, 117, 130.

men, but the imperialists overpowered him and drove him into the walls of the fort where they entrenched themselves against the enemy. The fort was besieged, and the Sultan decided to starve the enemy into submission. The supplies were cut off, and the fortifications were attacked by the imperialists, who repulsed the beleaguered garrison with heavy losses. The prolongation of the siege for eight months exhausted the patience of the forlorn hope of Kondhana and in sheer despair they purchased their freedom by acknowledging the supremacy of Dihli.

But more serious was the revolt of Bahrām Aibā at Multan which occurred sometime after the transfer of the capital. The date

Bahrām Aibā's
rebellion at
Multan, 728
A.H.

741 A.H. given by Firishta is absolutely incorrect, though his account is fuller than that of Barani. Barani, who is more reliable being a

contemporary, does not give the date; but from his narrative it is clear that this was the first important rebellion in Hindustan, and it occurred either towards the close of 727 A.H. or sometime in 728 A.H. Ibn Batūtah gives a fuller account of the rebellion, but he does not furnish us with a date. He had no personal knowledge of the events which happened six years before his arrival in India, and much of his information must have been derived from eye-witnesses living at the time. He says, he learnt about this rebellion from Shaikh Rukn-al-Din, and we have no reason to disbelieve the substantial part of his story.⁵² The French translators of Ibn Batūtah accept 727 A.H. as the date of this rebellion, which is very near the truth.⁵³ The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* mentions the revolt just after the rebellion of Bahā-al-Din Gashtāsp and the transfer of the capital; and this sequence of events is followed by Badāoni, Firishta and Hajji-ad-Dabīr.

The rebellion certainly occurred when the Sultan was at Devagiri, whither, according to Barani, he had removed all the nobles and their families.⁵⁴ Bahrām, surnamed Kishlū Khan, was a close

⁵² Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 324.

⁵³ Barani, Cal. Text, III. Introduction, p. xx.

⁵⁴ In describing this rebellion Barani writes:—

سلطان از دیوگیر در شهر آمد و در شهر لشکرها جمع کرد
و جانب ملتان لشکر کشید

Barani, Cal. Text, p. 479.

friend of the late Sultan, and Muhammad used to address him as his uncle. Whenever he came to the capital, he fully respected his avuncular dignity. During the regime of Khusrau, Kishlū Khan had been a valued lieutenant and co-adjutor of Ghazi malik and had joined forces with the latter at Depalpur in order to put an end to the usurpation of the unclean renegade. On his assumption of royal authority the victorious general rewarded his fidelity by reposing full confidence in him and according to him a brotherly treatment. The present ruler on his accession to the throne treated him with special respect, and conferred upon him rich rewards and honours to signify his esteem for him. When the Sultan heard of his rebellion at Devagiri, he was deeply disconcerted, for Kishlū Khan held the fiefs of Uccch, Sindh and Multan which occupied a valuable position towards the northern frontier. The causes of the rebellion have been variously described by Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* who is followed by Badāoni and Firishta. But Hajjī-ad-Dabīr, who is an independent authority, relying upon the information supplied by the oft-quoted Husām Khan corroborates the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi*. According to Ibn Batūtah, the chief fault of Bahrām was that he had, under a feeling of disgust, caused by the exhibition of the corpses of Ghiyas-al-Din Bahadur and Gashtāsp, ordered the interment of the corpses when they reached the province of Sindh.⁵⁵ As has been pointed out before, the two corpses could not have been exposed together, for the simple reason that the deaths of the two men occurred at different times. The Sultan took umbrage at this, and sent for Kishlū Khan who refused to go out of fear, and decided openly to raise the standard of revolt.

The author of the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives a different reason. He attributes the revolt to the indiscretion and folly of a royal messenger, 'Ali Khatattī, who was deputed by the Sultan to ask Kishlū Khan to send his family to Daulatabad, as other nobles and grandees had done, and his account is reproduced by Badāoni and Firishta. Hajjī-ad-Dabīr, quoting from Husam Khan, writes that the cause of this rebellion was the quarrel between 'Ali Khatattī, the royal emissary, who was sent by the Sultan to bring Kishlu Khan to the court, and Lūlū the son-in-law of the latter. This finds partial corroboration in Barani, who is as usual, provokingly brief. In de-

⁵⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 321-22.

scribing the Sultan's stay at Dihli after Kishlū Khan's revolt he says that the nobles and officers remained at Dihli, while their wives and families had been removed to Devagiri. We may reasonably conclude from this that Kishlū Khan had not complied with the Sultan's order. All these accounts, read together, point to the conclusion that like other nobles Kishlū Khan was also asked to send his family to Daulatabad. Probably this arrangement was devised to keep the powerful barons in check, and their families were to be kept as hostages at the capital as a guarantee of their loyalty. The practice had been followed in the past as is shown by the instance of Pratap Rudrā Deva Kākatiya II in the reign of Tughluq Shah. It was certainly impolitic to ask a veteran general, who had given proof of his loyalty and devotion, to send his wives and children seven hundred miles away from the headquarters. The royal messenger in all probability transgressed his mission and used improper language towards Kishlū Khan, which made him suspicious of the Sultan's intentions. When the viceroy expressed his unwillingness to comply with the royal command, the insolent emissary, overconfident of his master's support, held out threats and went to the length of making the insinuation that he meditated treason against the state. He also used abusive language towards Kishlū Khan's son-in-law Lūlū, who at once flew into a rage, and caused the head of 'Ali to be struck off.⁵⁶

Bahrām saw no refuge except in rebellion and he was impolitic enough to declare war upon the Sultan without fully gauging his own strength. He rallied the Turks, Khorasanis and Mughals under his banner, and soon gathered a large army. The Sultan marched in haste towards Dihli, still described as the capital by Barani, and collecting a large army proceeded towards Multan. The hurried march of the Sultan from the Deccan to put down a rebellion in the north once again illustrates the importance of the northern frontier. Kishlū Khan was not intimidated into submission. He drew his forces in battle array and prepared to meet the imperialists. In the desert

⁵⁶ It is stated in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that 'Ali called Bahrām *harām-zādah* (bastard) in the presence of his son-in-law. The latter was enraged at this. He caught hold of him and ordered the Silahdar to cut off his head. Next day Bahrām rebelled.

Hājji-ad-Dabīr slightly differs from others and says that Kishlū Khan agreed to go to Dihli, but when he came to Multan an altercation ensued between 'Ali Khatatī and his son-in-law with the result that 'Ali was slain in the scuffle.

plain of Abuhar,⁵⁷ at a distance of two days' journey from Multan, a terrible fight ensued, in which both parties engaged with fearful courage, but at last, the imperialists prevailed upon the Multanese army and vanquished it.⁵⁸

Incensed at the conduct of the rebels, the Sultan ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of the city, but he was persuaded to desist from such an atrocious deed by Shaikh Rukn-al-Din whom he held in high esteem. Kishlū Khan fled from the field of battle, but he was captured and beheaded, and his head was hung up at the city gate to serve as a warning to disaffected persons.⁵⁹ To Shaikh Rukn-al-Din, brother of 'Imad-al-Din, and to his son Shaikh Sadr-al-Din, the Sultan assigned a hundred villages as a reward for their maintenance and the up-keep of the *Khanqah* of

⁵⁷ Abuhar has been described as a small and beautiful town by Ibn Batūtah. Now it is a small town situated in Fazalkah *tahsil*, district Firuzpore on the South Punjab railway. Here in Talwandi in Abuhar district lived the Bhatti Raja Rana Mal whose daughter was married to Rajab, the father of Firuz Tughluq. The name is written as Abuhar and Abohar. It was founded by Janra, grandson of Raja Rasalu, the Bhatti and named after his wife Uboh and therefore Uboh-har is the correct name. The termination '*har*' occurs in the names of many places where the Bhatti tribes dwell, or previously dwelt.

The 'desert tract' near Abuhar was that between the Uboh-har channel in which the Sutlej then flowed and the one farther east which it had last deserted.

Raverty's article on the Mihrān of Sind and its Tributaries in the J.A.S.B., 1892, Vol. I, pp. 263, 264.

Rennell's map in the Memoir of a Map of Hindustan or the Moghul Empire.

⁵⁸ Ibn Batūtah relates a curious stratagem by means of which the Sultan saved his life. He says that when the battle was raging fiercely, the Sultan made Shaikh 'Imād-al-Din, who resembled him in features, stand in his place. The soldiers of Kishlū Khan mistook him for the Sultan and slew him. The Sultan had already gone away in one direction with 4,000 men. When the news of the Sultan's death spread in the army of Kishlū Khan, it engaged itself in plunder and deserted its leader. When he was thus deprived of his following, the Sultan came up with his men, defeated him and cut off his head. Immediately after this, the troops of Kishlū Khan dispersed in all directions.

This story is doubtful, and, it is just possible it may be one of those usual tales with which travellers tax the credulity of their hearers.

Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 323-24.

⁵⁹ Ibn Batūtah says (III, p. 325) that he saw his head when he entered Multan. This may or may not be true. But the suspension of the head of a rebel from some prominent city gate was not an uncommon practice in the middle ages.

Bahā-al-Din Zakāriya of Multan. Having bestowed the governorship of Multan upon Qiwām-al-mulk Maqbūl, the Sultan returned to Dihli in triumph.

By the close of the year 728 A.H. the emperor's authority was fully established in the various provinces of the empire. The

The extent of the empire. northern provinces were fully incorporated in the dominions of Dihli; in the south too M'abar, Dwarsamudra and Kampil all acknowledged the

authority of the Sultan. The Kākatīyas had long struggled with the rulers of Dihli for the preservation of their independence, but the disunion of the Hindu chiefs and the superior military power of the Muhammadans had always frustrated their attempts. Warangal was conquered in 727-28 A.H. and the conquest of M'abar and Dwarsamudra was accomplished soon afterwards. Dwarsamudra, the capital of the Hoysalas was demolished by the troops of Muhammad Tughluq, and Muslim sovereignty was established in the far south at Madura.⁶⁰ The most powerful king in the Deccan at this time was Vir Ballāla III who was anointed to the crown on February 1, 1292 A.D.⁶¹ He had developed his power at the expense of the Kākatīyas whom he superseded as the leader of the Hindu revolt against the yoke of Islam in the south, and his reputation increased to such an extent that he was commonly described as a "terror-giving fever to Chola, Malava, Gauda and Gurjara, a Visnuvardhana and emperor of the south, the strong-armed Hoysala who ruled the kingdom of the world."⁶² The decline of the Kākatīyas proved highly favourable to Ballala's ambitions, and without exciting suspicion this astute ruler had organised his resources, and it was probably at this time that he laid the foundation of the city generally called Hosāpattana or Virūpāksapattana which ultimately became Vijaya-

⁶⁰ Epigraphia Indica, III, p. 115.

Dr. Fleet, Kanarese dynasties, p. 70.

Journal Mythic Society, XI, p. 16.

Ibid., VIII, p. 74.

Indian Antiquary, 1922, p. 210.

Marshall, Archæological Survey, 1907-08, p. 235.

There were two expeditions against Warangal in 727 A.H. The first proved abortive, but the second was a success and Warangal was incorporated in the empire of Dihli.

⁶¹ Epig. Carnatica, VI, Kd. 4, 136, 139.

⁶² Epig. Carn., VII, Sh. 69.

Ibid., IV, Gu. 58 and 69.

nagar to secure his northern frontier.⁶³ In 1328-29 A.D. he was living at Unnamalāi or Tiruvannamalāi in the south Arcot district, which he made his capital partly owing to the fear of the Muhammadans and partly owing to the hostility of the rival Hindu chiefs, Hari Hara and Bukkā, and here he ruled in peace and happiness as the sole monarch.⁶⁴ Firishta's statement that Vir Ballāla acknowl-

⁶³ Journal Mythic Society, XI, p. 21.

Ibid., VIII, pp. 73, 74.

Elliot, Numismata Orientalia, p. 91.

Professor Krishnaswami Aiyenger is of opinion that Hosā Pattana and Vidyānagar are the same as Virūpākshapattana or Hampi. He adduces the following facts which prove that Vidyanagar, Virūpāksapattana and Hampi are identical.

(i) One record states that in 1339 A.D. (Saka 1261) he was ruling at Sri Vijaya Virūpāksapura as his residential capital. He is further described in this record as the sole monarch by his own labour.

Hoscote 43, Epig. Carn., IX.

(ii) In the following years, a grant refers to the Pattābhisheka (anointment) of the Prince while Vir Ballāla was ruling. This is apparently a reference to the coronation of the Prince, which according to a Chikkamagatur inscription is said to have taken place at Hosapattana.

Bn. III, Egig. Carn., IX

(iii) There is an inscription in the temple at Hampi referring itself to the Hoysalas indicating thereby that Hampi was the territory of the Hoysalas.

A.S.R., 1907-08, p. 236, Note 2.

(iv) There is a further inscription of 1354 A.D. which states that Bukkā was ruling from Hosapattana. The next year he is said to be in his capital Vidyanagar.

⁶⁴ Epig. Carn., IX, Db. 14.

Ibid., IV, Kp. 44.

Ibid., V, Pt. I. Introduction, p. xxviii.

Ak. 66 shows the king residing at Virupaksapattana in 1330 A.D. It is not clear what place this was, but it was in the Mysore country and perhaps somewhere near Kanikatte. This is what Mr. Lewis Rice says in his introduction to volume V of Epigraphia Carnatica, p. XXVIII. As has been said before, there is evidence to prove that on the site of Virupaksapattana was founded the city of Vijayanagar.

Epig. Carn., Ak. 66, Vol. V.

Elliot, Numismata Orientalia, p. 81.

HultZsch, Annual Report for 1891-92, p. 8.

Madras Christian College Magazine-IX, p. 667.

Journal Mythic Society, VIII, p. 74.

Mysore Gazetteer, I, p. 342.

edged the suzerainty of Dihli is uncorroborated, and in the absence of further evidence we may conclude from Ballāla's enormous power that he ruled practically as an independent monarch, a fact established by an inscription of 1328 A.D., in which one Machya Dan-nāyaka who ruled at Penugoda is described as his vassal.

Thus within a few years the Sultan exercised sway over the remotest provinces of India excepting a small portion of the Deccan which, though it did not definitely acknowledge his over-lordship, never challenged his claim as the sovereign power in the land. Bengal was a part of the empire, and for the last ten years its governors had been the creatures of the rulers of Dihli. Malwa, Dhar, Ujjain, Karauli⁶⁵ with the adjoining fiefs of Mahoba, Dalmau accepted the vassalage of Dihli and paid tribute. Though Firishta is guilty of exaggeration when he says that the distant provinces 'were as effectually incorporated with the empire as the villages in the vicinity of Dihli, it is nevertheless true that in every province a vigorous administration was introduced and the imperial authority was fully maintained.⁶⁶ Barani speaks of the regularity with which tribute was paid in the early part of the reign.⁶⁷ All elements of disorder were suppressed, and it seemed that an era of peace and orderly government had begun. But destiny decreed otherwise, and the grand projects of the Sultan ended in nothing.

⁶⁵ Thamanpal, the eldest son of Bijay Pal established himself at Tamangarh, 15 miles south-east of Biyana, and eventually possessed himself of the high irregular ground above the Chambal comprising the country round the forts of Utgarh and Mandrel and reaching as far as Dholpur. His son Kunwarpal recovered Tamangarh for his father, but the Muslim governor of Biyana took the part of Harpālā. The whole country fell into the hands of the Muhammadans. Kunwarpāl fled to Rewa and his brothers became servants to Muhammadans. Their descendants are still known as Gonj which is said to be a contraction of Gonkyar or time-server. Kunwarpal's descendant Arjun Singh (1327 A.D.) managed to gain possession of the fort of Mandrel on the Chambal and to obtain confirmation of his occupation from the court of Dihli. Chiefs and leading Families of Rajputana, p. 66.

⁶⁶ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 134.

Briggs, I, p. 413.

⁶⁷ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 469.

CHAPTER III

THE SULTAN'S EXPERIMENTS AND THE MUGHAL INVASION

The first experiment which caused much suffering to the people was the transfer of the capital from Dihli to Devagiri. Barani is very

The transfer of
the capital, 726-27
A.H.

sparse in giving dates. He places the transfer of the capital just after the enhancement of the land tax in the Doab which is one of the earliest measures of Muhammad's reign, and which seems to have been carried into effect not long after his accession. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* assigns the first transfer (it may be noted that he speaks of a second transfer after 729 A.H.) to 727 A.H., and he is followed by Badāoni whose account is an exact reproduction of that given by the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Firishta supports the above by saying that when the Sultan had gone to Devagiri during the rebellion of Bahā-al-Din Gashtāsp, he was so pleased with the situation of Devagiri that he wished to make it his capital.¹ But his chronology is hopelessly wrong. He assigns the transfer to the year 740 (1339 A.D.), but this is quite incorrect, for Ibn Batūtah who came to Dihli towards the close of 1333 writes that he saw the Sultan repeopling the depopulated city, which shows that the transfer must have at least taken place before his arrival.² This is corroborated by numismatic evidence. When the token currency was withdrawn, and free exchange was permitted by the Sultan, Barani and all later writers declare that mounds of copper coins arose in Tughluqabad.³ The trend of the narrative indicates that Barani is describing the activities of the capital which must have regained its old status in 732 A.H. There is more numismatic evidence which clearly points to the year 727 A.H. There are coins struck at Daulatabad in the year

¹ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 136.

Briggs I, p. 419.

² Ibn Batūtah III, Paris, p. 316.

³ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 476.

727 A.H. bearing on them the superscription "Cupola of Islam" (قبة الاسلام) a fact which shows that in 727 Daulatabad was the capital of the empire.⁴ The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a coin in its possession which was issued from Devagiri in 727 A.H. bearing on the margin the following legend:—

هذا الدينار في قبة دين اسلام ايمني حفرته نيوكير - ٧٢٧

and this is supported by the *Masalik* wherein Devagiri is described as the *Qubbat-al-Islam*.⁵ The author the *Masalik* derived his information from one who had seen Devagiri with his own eyes. In Nelson Wright's Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, there is a gold coin (No. 307) issued in 727 A.H., bearing the same superscription as the above.⁶ Further evidence of this is supplied by the fact that earlier coins struck at the Devagiri mint are different. The title of *Qubbat-al-Islam* does not appear on the coins issued in various years, but we have a coin struck at Daulatabad, the new name of Devagiri in 726 A.H., having on the margin the following legend which is different from the one quoted above:⁷

ضرب هذه السكة في سنة ثمان مائة و ثمان و سبع مائة

This shows that in 726 A.H. the Sultan had declared Devagiri as the capital of the empire. Writing about Bahram Aibā's revolt, Barani says that when the revolt broke out, the Sultan was at Devagiri, and when he returned after suppressing the revolt, he did not proceed to Devagiri whither the citizens and their families had removed. While he remained at Dihli, the nobles and the soldiers continued with him but their wives and children were at Devagiri.⁸ The rebellion of Bahrām according to Barani is the second rebellion of the reign and took place early in 728 A.H. All this evidence tends to prove that the transfer was effected in 726-727 A.H.

An interesting question which deserves examination is whether the Sultan carried the inhabitants of Dihli twice to Devagiri or Daulata-

⁴ *Masalik*, Paris, MS.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ N. Wright, Catalogue of Coins, p. 51.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 50, Coin No. 300, weight 173 grs.

⁸ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 479.

bad. A difficulty has been created by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* who speaks of two migrations to Devagiri.⁹

According to him, the first migration occurred in 727 A.H. when the Sultan carried with his mother Makhdum Jahan, the amirs, maliks and other notable persons with horses, elephants and treasure of the state. Again, after describing the invasion of Tarmāshirīn Khan, which according to him occurred in 729 A.H., and the taxation of the Doab with the disturbance which followed it, Yahyā writes that the Sultan purchased the houses of the inhabitants of Dihli and carried them, together with the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns, to Daulatabad so that the houses in Dihli were emptied and there was heard in the city not even the cry of dogs or cats. Daulatabad was filled with the inhabitants of Dihli who were munificently rewarded.

The vulgar section of the public and the vagabonds who had remained in the town brought the goods of the inhabitants out of their houses and destroyed them. Thus, Yahyā distinctly mentions two migrations—one of the notables of the state in 727 A.H. and the other of the inhabitants of Dihli about two years later, i.e., in 729 A.H., designed solely as a punitive measure against the refractory people of the Doab, and he is copied by Badāoni whose account is a faithful reproduction of that given by him.¹⁰ Firishta, who has also copied the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* to a large extent in the matter of chronology and also of the arrangement and narration of facts, mentions two migrations of the whole population *en masse* from Dihli to Daulatabad.¹¹ He does not slavishly follow the

⁹ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* thus describes the first transfer in 727 A.H.

¹⁰ Ranking, *Al-Badāoni*, I, pp. 303, 305.

¹¹ Firishta, *Lucknow Text*, p. 136; Briggs, I, pp. 420, 422.

Firishta thus describes the two transfers :

حکم فرمود کہ دہلی را کہ رشک مصر بود خراب کردہ خلق
آنجا را از صغیر و کبیر و نوکر و غیر نوکر و از مروت و مذکر
کو چاندیدہ بدیوگیر آوردند و مترطن سازند -
و چون مہدم اطراف کہ در دولت آباد بتکلیف ساکن شدہ
بودند پراگندہ گشتند - بادشاہ مدت دو سال در آنجا ماندہ
ہمت بر تعمیر دولت آباد بگماشت و مادر خود مخدومہ جہاں را
با سائر حرمہائے امراء سپاہی روانہ دولت آباد گردانید - واحدے
از مہدم دہلی را کہ باب و ہوا آنجا خوگرفتہ بودند بکال خود

Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi like Badāoni, but confuses the whole thing by a misreading of the texts of Barani and the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. He adheres to the order of events followed by Barani, but adds something more to the information, supplied by Barani for which there is no warrant. According to him, the first migration took place after Bahā-al-Dīn's rebellion, though his date is quite wrong, when the Sultan carried the whole population, men and women of all classes to Daulatabad and paid them the prices of their houses in Dihli and the expenses of the journey. The second migration occurred when the Sultan returned to Dihli after the suppression of the revolt of Bahrām Aibā. He sent his mother with the wives of amirs and military men to Daulatabad and also the inhabitants of Dihli so that the old capital became a desert in which only the cries of foxes, jackals and other wild animals were heard. This is clearly a confused mixture of the texts of Barani and Yahyā. From the accounts of these two writers who are not contemporary, certain modern writers have constructed the plausible theory that the first migration consisted in the transfer only of the court and the official machinery and the second in the removal of the people of Dihli. We may dismiss at once Badaoni and Firishta who are later writers who have adopted the versions of Barani and the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is also a secondary authority, but he deserves more attention because he wrote only about eighty years after Muhammad's death, and because he must have utilised certain history or histories other than Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, for he supplies at times information for which we look in vain in Barani, information which is amply corroborated by other contemporary writers and the evidence of coins.

It is difficult to accept the statement of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* about the two migrations. Barani who is a contemporary writer mentions only one migration, and he is consistent in giving his account. He had no reason to conceal the fact, if a second migration of the whole population had taken place, for that would have agreeably fitted in with his notions of the Sultan's character and policy, and in a matter like this the testimony of a well-informed

دنگذاشته طرا بدولت آبان فرستاد و دهلي بنوعی ويران گشت - که
آواز هيچ متنفسے بجز شغال و روباه و جانوران صکراتي بگوش
نمي رسيد -

contemporary must carry weight. It appears from the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that the removal of the entire population in about 729 A.H. was prompted by the Sultan's desire to punish the refractory people of the Doab. This is an extraordinary form of punishment, and no ruler would have recourse to such a measure when a hundred others equally or perhaps more effective and speedy were ready to hand. Then, if the transfer had a punitive purpose as Yahya suggests, why did the Sultan pay the prices of their houses to the inhabitants of Dihli and provide all necessary comforts during the long journey of 800 miles? The second migration of the population *en masse* is mentioned just after the invasion of Tarmāshīrīn Khan in 729 A.H. The invasion of the Chaghtai chief was due to the depopulation of Dihli of which the Mughals had heard, and under these circumstances the evacuation of Dihli, to say the least of it, would have been an act of questionable wisdom.¹² It does not seem probable that the Sultan would be so unwise as to carry his population to Daulatabad after the Mughal invasion which cost him so much money and caused him profound anxiety. Again, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* makes contradictory statements in the same breath. He says that even porters were not to be found at the doors of houses and not even the cries of cats and dogs were heard in the city and in the next sentence he writes that the common people (مردم عوامی) and the vagabonds (اوباش) who had remained behind seized the people's goods and destroyed them. The second statement makes it clear that some persons did remain in Dihli notwithstanding the Sultan's fiat. The population of Dihli in those days must have consisted largely of the nobles, officers, civil and military, of the state together with their numerous dependents, who would certainly follow their masters and patrons to Daulatabad. Much of the trade and industry of the time also depended upon the court, and naturally business-men would like to accompany the court to keep their business on. It seems that a second migration, particularly when the first was so comprehensive as to consist of amirs, maliks, notables, the 'Ulama, with slaves, dependents, their horses, elephants and treasures, would hardly be necessary. It is highly improbable that having once decided to transfer the capital for weighty reasons of which Barani gives a correct account, the Sultan would enforce a second migration after a lapse of two years, especially when the

¹² Arabic History of Gujarat, Volume IV, p. 865.

situation in Hindustan was far from satisfactory. Barani and all later writers state that after the suppression of the revolt of Bahram Aibā, the Sultan returned to Dihli with his military officers and remained there for two years. It is difficult to understand why the Sultan should choose Dihli as his place of residence, if it were completely depopulated.

Barani's statement that there was only one migration and that of the whole population en masse seems to be correct. His account is too detailed to be a mere slip and there seems to be no reason why he should not mention that there were two migrations, if they had actually occurred, as is the case with the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Barani is supported by Ibn Batūtah, whose account leads to the inference that there was only one migration and that was of a fairly considerable portion of the population. Dihli does not seem to have been completely depopulated, for the mint was always there, and we have coins struck at Dihli during the years 727, 728, and 729 A.H.¹³ If the government offices had been removed, and also the population, why was the mint allowed to exist? The very fact that the mint continued to work at Dihli shows that there must have been a regular staff of officers entrusted with the management of the institution and a certain fraction of the population.

During the rebellion of Bahā-al-Din Gashtāsp, when the Sultan was in the Deccan, he was much struck by the geographical and strategic position of Devagiri and he wished to make it his capital. His empire now included practically the whole of the Indian peninsula, excepting a strip of land on the western coast in the Deccan, Orissa and the Rajput states in Rajputana which had taken no part in Dihli politics for the last ten years. Towards the north the empire embraced the Doab, the plains of the Punjab and Lahore together with the territories stretching from the Indus to the coast of Gujarat; towards the east it comprised the entire province of Bengal, and in the centre it included the whole of the central region, consisting of such principalities as Malwa, Mahoba, Ujjain and Dhar. The Deccan had been well-nigh subdued, although a few chiefs like Krisna Nāyaka of Warangal still lived in a state of sullen hostility. The whole country extending from the Mahanadi and the Krisna

¹³ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 209.

Thomas calls it a most perfect coin.

along the Eastern coast to the southernmost extremity of the peninsula was included in the empire of Dihli. Warangal, Madura and Dwarsamudra, all owned allegiance; and the Hoysala king Vir Ballāla had acknowledged the superior power of the Sultan. The empire needed a central capital from which a vigilant watch could be maintained over all the different parts of Hindustan. Dihli, just now in the grip of a severe famine, was too remote from the outlying provinces; it was far too northern to be the capital of an empire which had its base in the extreme south, and, then, it was constantly threatened by the Mughal invasions. Close to Rajputana, it was exposed to danger from the most warlike people whom even 'Ala-al-Din had not been able entirely to subjugate. It was, as Sher Shah said two centuries later the very road of an invader and peculiarly fitted to be his first resting place. All the invaders of Hindustan had established dominion over the country by capturing Dihli, for the fall of the capital in those days meant the fall of the empire. The Gangetic plain was a great lever to sustain their newly founded power by supplying inexhaustible resources which enabled them to contend successfully against the native powers. From the chief seat of the empire at Dihli it was well-nigh impossible to keep a firm hold over the south where the Hindu Rajas had never been completely reconciled to Muhammad's domination and to prevent a recrudescence of rebellion and internecine strife, if the reins were slackened in the slightest degree. Devagiri was safe and far away from the route of the enemy. Distance did not much matter to the Sultan for he had an efficient post running from Dihli to Devagiri which facilitated communication and enabled him to keep in touch with his vast possessions. It was more centrally situated than Dihli and, as Barani says, the different provinces of the empire, Gujarat, Dihli, Sonargaon, Dwarsamudra; Ma'bar, Kampila were nearly equidistant from it.

It was the centrality of the place that led to the transfer of which the contemporary chronicler has given such a pathetic description. Besides the centrality of the place Barani mentions another motive. Having described the evil effects of famine in the Doab, he goes on to say that the Sultan decided to transfer the capital with a view to put an end to the sufferings and difficulties of the respectable persons among his subjects.¹⁴ Firishta states that the Sultan broached the

¹⁴ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 473.

subject to his ministers, the majority of whom suggested Ujjain, the ancient capital of the Hindu king Vikramāditya, as a more convenient place, but their suggestions were overruled by him. Ibn Batūtah, whose account is obviously based upon hearsay, for he was no eyewitness of the unfortunate experiment, informs us that the people of Dihli wrote anonymous letters in which they said that none except the Sultan should open them.¹⁵ These pasquinades were dropped at night into the Hall of Audience, and when the Sultan opened them next morning, he found them full of abusive epithets. At this he was so much enraged that he decided to depopulate Dihli by way of punishment. This queer explanation of a measure, so serious and important in all its bearings, fails to carry conviction to the mind, for the Sultan, though terribly severe in his later life, was not so petulant in the early part of his reign as to order the transfer of the capital for punishing a few anonymous scribblers whom he could easily make an example of, if detected. He had done nothing so far to offend the people of Dihli, whom he had loaded with gifts and honours, and on whom he had conferred high offices and commands. There is no evidence to show that the Sultan had in any way injured the citizens of Dihli. The taxation in the Doab to which Yahyā attributes the second transfer coupled with famine had doubtless caused a great misery, but it does not seem to have been an evil of such magnitude as to upset the Sultan altogether. Assuming that the Sultan was led by his alleged unpopularity to leave Dihli, can it be said with reason that in Devagiri he would be more safe, for in that difficult and intractable region he would be surrounded by foes alien in race and creed? Besides, he had no large Muslim population in the Deccan to count

The text has :—

سلطان محمد که در معمول گردانیدن آن خرابی دارالملک
و ابتیری خواص خلق و برافتاد مردم گزیده و چیده روئی نمود
انست که سلطان محمد را در دل افتاد که دیوگیر را دولت آباد
نام کرد

The author of the *Khulāsāt-ut-tawārikh* says that the climate of the Deccan
Sultan and he describes this as a cause of the Sultan's

upon in time of danger, and the Hindus of the south were not so submissive as those of the north who had become inured to Muslim domination. It seems, therefore, highly improbable that Muhammad would go to the Deccan to punish the impertinent people of Dihli who lampooned him in the guise of anonymity. Ibn Batūtah is not supported by any contemporary or later writer, and, in spite of his asseveration that he heard all this from a 'trustworthy' informant in Dihli, it is difficult to accept his statement in view of the liberal advances which the Sultan made from the treasury to the emigrants. He himself writes that the Sultan purchased the houses of the citizens of Dihli and paid full prices. The whole chain of evidence corroborates Barani who records the Sultan's motive in plain language which we often miss in him.

A modern writer has suggested that the transfer of the capital was to some extent dictated by the consideration that the importance of the Punjab had declined owing to the Mughal raids and owing to a great flood that 'had rendered thousands homeless and changed the river courses.'¹⁶ No Muslim historian mentions this reason which, although strikingly original, is of doubtful validity. The writer of the article in question has followed Major Raverty, who, relying upon the information supplied by the author of the *Khulāsat-ut-tawārīkh*, who was a native of Batala in the Punjab says: 'the exact year in which this flood took place is not fixed, but it was a long time before the invasion of Hindustan by Amir Timur.'¹⁷ In all probability it happened a short time before Sultan Firuz commenced opening canals; and the vast changes which this flood appears to have caused may have been the reason of his bringing canals to his

¹⁶ Gardner Brown's article on Muhammad bin Tughluq in the Journal of the U. P. Historical Society, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 13.

¹⁷ Major Raverty's Article on 'The Mihran of Sind' and its tributaries' in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1892, I, pp. 392, 498.

Here is the English rendering of the passage to which Major Raverty refers:—

[The whole land was covered with water. The buildings of towns and villages were in a state of decay, and many lives were wasted. After the storm had subsided, the land remained desolate and it was after a long time that some places were repopulated. As the Mughals of Kabul and Balkh invaded the land of the Punjab every year, the whole country was ruined in every direction, and the revenue was considerably reduced. In the time of Sultan Firuz, Barani, Cal. Text, p. 473.]

newly founded Hisar Firoza and parts adjacent.' According to Sujan Rai, whose information is obviously based on local tradition, the country remained waste and uncultivated until the rise of Bahlol Lodi in whose time Rai Ram Deva Bhatti farmed the whole of the Punjab for nine lakhs of *tankahs*.¹⁸ Major Raverty first places the flood in the beginning of the reign of Firuz Shah and in another place he fixes it sometime between the siege of Uchh by the Mughals and the invasion of Hind by Amir Timur, that is between 643 A.H. and 801 A.H. about the years 720—724 A.H. (1320—24 A.D.). Barani does not even throw out a hint that the Punjab was depopulated during his time, nor does he make mention of a great flood in the years 720—724 A.H. There is no evidence in Ibn Batūtah, 'Afif and 'Ain-al-mulk who was governor of Multan for a pretty long time, of the flood to which Sujan Rai alludes. The silence of all these writers though not a conclusive argument against the occurrence of the flood is significant. Floods were a common occurrence in those days, and it does not seem likely that the Sultan would be influenced by them so far as to decide upon the change of the capital. The consideration seems to be too far-fetched to have appealed to the Sultan. The importance of the Punjab consisted in its nearness to the lands from which India's invaders have come, and the frontier question continued to trouble Muhammad's successors as much as it troubled him and his predecessors. To sum up, the Sultan's object in removing to Devagiri was to get rid of the Mughals and to settle and control the newly acquired possessions in the South. It was not, as many modern writers have suggested, a wild experiment due to the mad freak of a callous tyrant who had sworn vengeance upon his subjects.

Having resolved to transfer the capital, the Sultan ordered the people of Dihli, men, women and children, servants and maid-servants to go to Daulatabad with all their belongings. A regular post was established between Dihli and Daulatabad and at every *khroh* a postal station was built and at every stage a palace and a *Khanqah* were built, where food, drink and betels were given to the way-farers free of cost. Trees were planted on both sides of the road to afford comfort to travellers and some of these were seen by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* in the 15th century. Every sort of convenience was supplied to the emigrants, and even

¹⁸ J.A.S.B., 1892, I, p. 392.

Barani admits that rewards and gifts were liberally bestowed upon them by the Sultan.¹⁹ All difficulties were disregarded, and the Sultan did not care for the envy of the kings of Iran and Turan and the distance of the frontier. What this transfer must have meant to the people of Dihli can be inferred from the fact that Dihli was a large and populous city spread over a wide area. Barani who knew the city well writes that it had grown prosperous during the last 150 or 160 years, and had begun to rival the glories of Cairo and Baghdad.²⁰ Ibn Batūtah gives an elaborate description of the city which, according to him, consisted of four cities—old Dihli, Siri, Tughluqabad and Jahānpanāh, the residence of Sultan Muhammad and his statement is corroborated by the authors of the *Maʿfūzāt-i-Timuri*²¹ and the *Zafarnāmah*. The description of the city given by the *Masālik* evidently refers to a later period, for Ibn Batūtah's statement that on his arrival in Dihli he witnessed the vestiges of desolation in certain places is in conflict with it.²² The court and the officials were removed to the new capital, and attracted by the Sultan's bounty learned and pious men also went to reside there. The Sultan grudged no expenditure in making it the true metropolis of Islam and adorned it with beautiful buildings. The author of the *Masālik* dwells enthusiastically upon the vastness and beauty of the

¹⁹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 474.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 474.

²¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, Paris, pp. 146-47.

Maʿfūzāt-i-Timuri, Elliot, III, pp. 447-48.

Zafarnamah, Elliot, III, p. 504.

Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Dihli*, pp. 98-99.

Ibn Batūtah writes: Dihli consists of four cities:—

(i) The old Dihli founded by the Hindus, which was conquered in 584 A.H.
(ii) Siri which had been given by the Sultan to Ghiyas-al-Dīn, the 'Abbasid.

(iii) Tughluqabad which was built by the Sultan's father.

(iv) Jahānpanāh, which has been built by the present Sultan. The Sultan wished to enclose them within a wall but he gave up the scheme for financial reasons.

²² Ibn Batūtah in the earlier part of his work speaks of Dihli as a magnificent and well-populated city, and in another place in describing the depopulation of Dihli by the Sultan he says that he saw the marks of desolation and that when he reached Dihli the Sultan was repeopling it.

The first description applies to Dihli as he left it in 1342 A.D. The second description occurs in his account of the evacuation of Dihli where he makes the deliberate statement that when he entered the city he found that the Sultan was making efforts to repeople it.

edifices of Devagiri²³ and he is corroborated by Ibn Batutah who visited it in 1343 A.D., when it had ceased to be the capital of the empire. 'Abdul Hamīd Lahori, the author of the *Bādshāh namah* and the European travellers who wrote in the 17th century testify to the solidity and grandeur of the fort of Daulatabad. It appears from Ibn Batūtah's account that the city continued to enjoy royal favour, and attained to a considerable degree of prosperity.

But despite royal beneficence the people of Dihli were unwilling to leave their native town. The Sultan's order must have weighed heavily upon the Hindus and Muhammadans alike. They could not bear the pain of exile in a foreign land. Barani's exaggerated statement that 'in sheer despair they laid down their heads in a heathen land, and of all the multitude of emigrants only a few survived to return to their homes' contains a substratum of truth.

The scheme failed disastrously, and resulted in considerable suffering to the population. The change of capitals is not an unusual thing in history. Fatehpur Sikri and Chittor are conspicuous examples of it. The Maratha capital changed frequently in the 17th century, and Rajgarh, Mahāvalessvara, Jinji, Kolapur, and Satara were all declared in turn capitals of the Maratha kingdom.²⁴ But the manner in which Muhammad effected the transfer was most impolitic. Elphinstone who is remarkably judicious admits that the design was by no means unreasonable in itself, if it had been begun without precipitancy and conducted with steadiness.²⁵ That Daulata-

²³ Masālik, Paris, MS. 48-49.

Ibn Batūtah, IV, Paris, pp. 48-49.

Bādshahnāmāh, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 496-500.

Tavernier's Travels in India, Vol. I, p. 143.

The Masālik's account of Dihli is as follows:—

The Sultan called Devagiri *Qubbat-al-Islam* or the cupola of Islam. The city was divided into quarters for civil and military officers, Qazis and learned men, *Shaiḫs* and *faqirs* and merchants and tradesmen. Everything that was needed for human comfort was supplied. The old fort was repaired and fortified and new reservoirs were constructed for supplying water.

²⁴ Indian Antiquary, 1921, p. 157.

Shivaji, Rajgarh.

Shambhuji, Mahavalessvara.

Raja Ram, Jinji.

Raja Ram's descendants, Kolapur.

Sahu, Satara.

²⁵ History of India, p. 400.

bad was safer than Dihli in the 14th century may be admitted, but it is questionable whether the Sultan would have profited by the change. Firishta rightly expresses his disapproval of the measure by saying that the Sultan disregarded two of his formidable enemies, the rulers of Iran and Turan.²⁶ Then, Devagiri was situated at a long distance from the outlying provinces of the empire like Bengal and the Punjab, and in case the Mughals invaded Dihli, when the Sultan's forces were locked up in the Deccan owing to the revolt of the native population, they would have easily captured it and seized a large portion of Hindustan. This was a contingency which the Sultan did not foresee. There was no precedent to guide him, and the whole thing became a strange innovation, so the people thought, to harass and annoy them. Though Barani's statement that the 'grave-yards of Musalmans arose all around Devagiri' is a gross exaggeration, there is no doubt that the Musalmans of Dihli abhorred the idea of living permanently in the land of the infidels.

The unwarranted assumption of Ibn Batūtah that a search was instituted in Dihli under a royal mandate to find out if any of the inhabitants were lurking in their houses, which resulted in the discovery of a blind man and a cripple is based upon mere bazar gossip, invented afterwards to discredit the Sultan. What Ibn Batūtah heard from his informant is as follows:

'Both were brought into the Sultan's presence; the cripple was blown away by means of a *manjiriq* and the blind man was ordered to be dragged to Daulatabad forty days' journey from Dihli with the result that only one of his legs reached the new capital.'²⁷ The same authority informs us that one night the Sultan ascended the roof of the palace and when he saw 'neither smoke nor light' in the city, he declared that he was satisfied.²⁸ In view of the Sultan's lavish generosity towards those who went from Dihli to Daulatabad and back from Daulatabad to Dihli, it is difficult to explain this monstrous conduct. But it must be borne in mind that Ibn Batūtah was no eye-witness of these occurrences, and by the time he reached Dihli six years later, a good deal of falsehood must have entered into the original story. Besides, Ibn Batutah does not refer us to any unimpeachable source for this piece of information, and relies only on hearsay. The contemporary Chronicler comments upon the

²⁶ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 136.

²⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 315.

²⁸ Ibn Batūtah III, p. 315.

thoroughness with which the evacuation was carried out in his usual hyperbolic fashion by saying that "not a cat or dog was left in any of the buildings of the city, in its palaces or its suburbs," and his statement is endorsed by all later writers who mostly copied him. European scholars unaccustomed to the oriental style of writing have put a literal construction upon the passage to prove Barani's falsity, but it should be understood that such forms of speech are still common amongst the people of India, and if literally interpreted, they would convey an absurd meaning. It is true, the Sultan's order was carried out vigorously, but, as has been shown before, a wholesale evacuation was never accomplished. When the Sultan saw the failure of his scheme, he brought back the court to Dihli, and not long afterwards when he went to the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah, he gave a general permission to the inhabitants of Dihli to go back to their old homes, if they wished to do so. The expenses of the journey were provided by the state and great generosity was shown. Two or three caravans started towards Dihli, and many with whom the climate of Devagiri agreed preferred to stay there. Dihli lost much of its former glory and grandeur, and though the Sultan brought learned men, landholders, and other famous men from far and wide to take up their abode in the old capital, no inducement proved of any avail. The old prosperity did not return; and Dihli did not recover its former greatness for a long time, as is proved by Ibn Batūtah's testimony. The Sultan carried out a sound measure in a most egregious manner. Nothing can obviate the eccentricity which attaches to the execution of the plan, but in apportioning blame it should be remembered that he lived in an age, when rulers hardly felt any scruples in sacrificing the interests of their subjects for the gratification of their desires. The failure of the scheme and the loss of money which it entailed embittered the Sultan's disposition, and, as Barani puts it, caused a great harm to the kingdom.

An important episode of Muhammad's reign which Barani slurs over is the invasion of the Mughals under the Chagtai chief Tarmāshirin Khan of Transoxiana. Firishta charges

The Mughal
invasion, 729 A.H.

Barani with *surpressio veri* in this case and says that he deliberately avoided mentioning it for fear of giving offence to Sultan, Firuz Tughluq.²⁹ It is probable that Barani may have preferred to keep silence over

²⁹ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 134.

this discreditable occurrence, but it must be remembered that Barani is not a detailed chronicler who attempts to supply information about everything relating to Muhammad's reign. The nearest successor of Barani who mentions this invasion is the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. According to him the invasion took place in 729 A.H. after the transfer of the capital.³⁰ Badāoni copies him.³¹ Firishta who also consulted the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives a different account of the invasion and it appears that he relied upon some other history of which he does not make mention in the body of his work. He assigns the date 727 A.H. to this invasion, and as Sir Wolseley Haig rightly says, this date might have been attributed to the mistake of the scribes who very often substitute ٧٢٧ for ٧٢٩ but for the fact that the sequence of events mentioned by him makes it quite clear that he means 727 A.H. and not 729 A.H.³² According to Firishta, it was after this invasion that Muhammad Tughluq subjugated the distant provinces of India such as Dwarsamudra, Ma'bar, Kampil, Warangal, Lakhnauti, Satagaon and Sonargaon. He must have relied for the chronology of Muhammad's reign upon some other work or works, for all his dates do not tally with those given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and Badaoni. The only corroboration of his date is to be found in the *Haft-i-Risalah-i-Taqwīm-al-Buldān* a history of the Mughals, but this is a later work and, therefore, not of much value.³³ Besides, its chronology is far from satisfactory.³⁴ Hajjī-ad-Dabīr, who is an independent authority, basing his information on the oft-quoted *Tarikh Husām Khani* corroborates the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, although he does not favour us with a date. In the sequence of events he places this invasion after the appointment of Nusrat Khan to the fief of Bidar, which occurred much later than 729 A.H. But incidentally he says that when the Mughals in Khorasan and 'Iraq heard of the depopulation of Dihli Tarmāshirin, brother of Qutlugh Khwajah, advanced into Hindustan at the head of a large army, and this seems probable. We have no reason to reject Yahyā's date which is supported by

³⁰ T. M. MS.

³¹ Badāoni, Cal. Text, I, pp. 227-28.

³² J.R.A.S., 1922, pp. 341-42.

³³ Buhar, MS. f. 8a.

According to the author of this work Tarmashirin's death occurred in 728 A.H. which is incorrect (f. 8a).

³⁴ Howorth, History of the Mongols, Pt. III, p. 606.

the trend of circumstances. Besides, Yahyā is an earlier authority than Firishta, who except for matters that came within his personal knowledge is a mere compiler. The earlier years of Muhammad Tughluq's reign were fully occupied with other recorded events. The year 726 A.H. does not appear to have been disturbed, and if Northern India had been threatened by a serious Mughal invasion at this time, Muhammad Tughluq would have hardly thought of launching his Deccan campaigns in 727 A.H. He was evidently at Dihli, when the invasion occurred, but during a great part of 727 and to some extent in 728 A.H. he was absent in the Deccan, completing his conquests and busy in resettling the new capital of his empire. All evidence tends to show that the invasion occurred in the earlier years of Muhammad's reign. The date 729 A.H. is an early enough date, for in that year Muhammad Tughluq had been only four years on the throne.

Tarmāshirīn is described by Ibn Batūtah who met him in his own country sometime towards the close of 1332 A.D. or the beginning of 1333 A.D. as a just and powerful prince, whose dominions were surrounded by four great kingdoms—China, India, 'Iraq, and the country of the Uzbeks. He wistfully looked around in search of conquest, and the decline of the Persian monarchy under the degenerate 'Abū Sa'id encouraged him in his ambitious designs. He attempted a conquest of Khorasan and in 1326 A.D. crossed the Oxus, but he was defeated near Ghazni by Amir Hasan, son of Chaupān. To find an outlet for his ambitions probably, he turned towards India, where much confusion had been caused by famine and the transfer of the capital. The change of such an important capital as Dihli was a momentous event in those days, and we may believe Hājji-ad-Dabīr when he says that it was one of the causes of the Mughal invasion.³⁵ Having subjugated Lamghan, Multan and the northern provinces, the Mughals harried the entire plain extending from Multan and Lahore to the outskirts of Dihli. The districts of Samana, Indari³⁶ and Badāon also suffered at their hands. It appears that the outposts of the empire were not as effectively garrisoned, as they had been under Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq and that is why the Mughals found it easy to plunder the whole country right

³⁵ Arabic History of Gujarat, III, p. 865.

³⁶ A town in Sarhind on the right bank of the Dihli canal and on the route from Karnal to Boorea being 15 mile north of the former, Lat. 29° 52' Long. 77° 8', Thornton, Gazetteer of the Territories of the E. I. Company, II, p. 217.

up to the confines of the capital. The manner in which Muhammad met this invasion is variously described. According to the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* the Sultan collected his troops between Dihli and the *Hauz Khas*, and when the Mughals had retreated from the bank of the Jamna and crossed the Indus, he went out with his army in pursuit of them, as far as Kalanor and then returned.³⁷ There is no mention of any engagement between the Mughals and the Dihli troops. Only Tarmāshirin is described as شکسته a vanquished enemy. The fort of Kalanor which was in a dilapidated condition was entrusted to Majīr-al-Din Abū Rajā who carried out its repairs. The Sultan also sent some brave and reputed warriors in pursuit of Tarmāshirin and himself returned to Dihli. Badāoni follows the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, and instead of describing the enemy as شکسته he describes the Dihli forces as عساکر منصور اسلام (the victorious army of Islam). Ranking does not give us an exact translation of the text in-as-much as he says that the Sultan pursued him as far as the frontier of Kalanor and defeated him, leaving the destruction of that fort in the hands of Majīr-al-Din Abū Rajā.³⁸ The text has only the following.³⁹

سلطان تاحد کلانور تعاقب او نموده شکست و ریخت آن
حصار رابعهده مجیرالدین ابوجا باز گذاشته بر سمت دهلی
باز گشت -

Hājji-ad-Dabir quoting Husām Khan, writes that the Mughal chief encamped outside Dihli, and his troops ravaged the territories of Lahore, Sāmāna, and Badāon. Muhammad Shah entrenched himself in his fort and did not come out until the Mughals had

³⁷ The text of the T. M. has :—

سلطان میان دهلی و حوض خاص لشکرهای فراوان گرد آورده
نزول کرده بود چون مهندس (مدرس) شکسته او از آب سنده
بکمره کرده سلطان با لشکرهای خویش متعاقب او تاحد کلانور
برفت و حصار کلانور که مدرس و خراب بود عهده مجیرالدین
ابوجا گردانید او مرتب کنائید -

³⁸ Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I. p. 305.

³⁹ Badāoni, *Cal. Text*, I, p. 228.

departed from Dihli of their own accord owing to the devastation of the country.⁴⁰ When the enemy had crossed the Indus, he went in pursuit of them as far as Kalanor and then returned. Firishta's account which is based upon some independent but unknown authority seems to be more worthy of credit. He states clearly that the Sultan, finding that he could not cope with the enemy in the open field, negotiated for a peace. Tarmāshirīn, having accepted valuable gifts in the shape of gold and jewels, which Firishta describes as 'almost the price of the kingdom,' returned to his own country through Gujarat and Sindh which were devastated by the Mughal soldiery. The *Haft-Risālah-i-Taqwīm-at-Buldān* also says that the Sultan paid a tribute to the Mughal chief whereupon he returned to his country. The disparity between Yahyā and Firishta is remarkable, and Husām Khan only partially corroborates Firishta when he says that the Sultan remained entrenched in his fort, and only came out when the Mughals had departed. Firishta's account is more probable, for Ibn Batūtah who was in Transoxiana either towards the close of 1332 A.D. or in the beginning of 1333 A.D. and who was the recipient of gifts and presents from Tarmāshirīn writes that friendly relations existed between the Sultan of Hind and the Chaghtai chief.⁴¹ Such relations would be impossible, if Tarmā-

⁴⁰ Arabic History of Gujarat, III, p. 865.

⁴¹ Ibn Batūtah, Paris, III, p. 43.

The Sultan of Hind and Tarmāshirīn, says Ibn Batūtah, addressed each other as brothers.

Ibn Batūtah relates that when Buzan became ruler of Transoxiana in place of Tarmāshirīn, the latter's son Shami 'Ughli, his sister and her husband, Firuz, came to India. The Sultan of Hind who was a friend of Tarmāshirīn, received them kindly and extended his hospitality to them. After sometime a man came from the direction of Sindh who gave himself out as Tarmāshirīn. His identification proved that he was Tarmāshirīn. Khwajah Jahan, Ahmad Ayaz and Qutlugh Khan, the trustworthy amirs of the Sultan, told him that the presence of Tarmāshirīn was a great danger to the state especially when there were forty thousand men of his tribe settled in India. Under their advice the Sultan expelled him from his dominions.

This story savours of a myth and cannot be accepted as a piece of sober history.

Ibn Batūtah arrived on the bank of the Indus on September 12, 1333 A.D. During his journey towards India he stayed for fifty-four days in Transoxiana and came in personal contact with Tarmāshirīn. It appears from the cities which he passed through that his journey must have taken about six months or a little more than that. Ibn Batūtah must have been in Transoxiana either at the end of 1332 or in the beginning of 1333 A.D.

shirīn had been defeated by the Dihli forces. He was, perhaps, placated by the Sultan, as Firishta writes, with costly gifts and presents. Again, if as Yahyā and Badāoni suggest, Tarmāshirīn had been defeated by the Dihli troops, Barani would have mentioned the fact with pleasure, for in that case he would have had no fear of giving offence to Firuz. But this argument holds good, only if we draw the inference from Barani's silence as Firishta does that he deliberately omitted to tell of this incident, an incident which does not reflect much credit upon Muhammad Tughluq. Besides, Dihli was depopulated at this time, and the Sultan had not forces enough at his command to fight the Mughals. The Doab was in the throes of a severe famine, and most of the great officials and nobles of the empire were at Devagiri. Plunder was the ruling passion of the Mughal barbarian, and the Sultan drove him off by attacking him in this most vulnerable quarter. In any case the invasion of the Chaghtai Prince was a passing storm, which soon disappeared.

The coins issued just after the installation of Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq testify to the revolution that had taken place in Dihli

politics and the precipitate haste made by the supporters of the plebeian king, whose name is

T o k e n C u r -
rency, 730 A.H.

mixed up with the pompous titles of

Qutb-al-Din Mubārak Shah.⁴² Ghiyas had to put an end to the disorders of the realm, and had neither the time nor the inclination to deal with currency questions. Fakhr-al-Din Jūnā was a man endowed with originality and a lover of novelty. His ambitious programme included also a reform of the coinage. From his mints in the different parts of the empire, various kinds of coins were issued, which were unequalled in the artistic perfection of their design, execution, and finish. One of the earliest acts of his reign was to refashion the entire system of coinage in order to found coins which might facilitate exchange and form convenient circulating media. Himself a skilled calligraphist, he caused legends to be inscribed on

⁴² Ghiyas's coin No. 157 in Thomas' collection has on the reverse the following superscription which indicates the precipiancy with which he was elevated to the throne :

"The second Alexander, right hand of the *Khilafat*, supporter of the commander of the faithful." These were titles assumed by Mubārak.

Thomas, *Chronicles*, pp. 189-90.

Hodiwala, *Numismatic Supplement*, XXXV, p. 157.

J.A.S.B.

his coins in fine clear letters, which illustrate his love of beauty and form.

He issued a new gold piece, called the Dinār by Ibn Batūtah, which weighed 200 grains, and revived the adālī which weighed 140 grains of silver, and which seems to have fallen into disuse. This was the result of the abundance of gold in the country in comparison with silver.⁴³ To provide facilities for exchange even in small transactions, the Sultan devised the doḡani piece, which was equal to two kanis, and which was designated Sultani after the name of its founder, and the Shah Kani which was three-fourths of a hashtḡani.⁴⁴

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But the most remarkable experiment of Muhammad Tughluq, which has been little understood and much condemned, was the introduction of a token currency in 730 A.H. Barani gives no date, but places it in point of time after the transfer of the capital to Devagiri which took place in 726-27 A.H. and no token coins are available bearing the dates 726, 727, 728 and 729. During these years the Sultan had scarcely time to embark upon such a novel experiment, for he was busy with the transfer of the capital and the rebellion of Kishlū Khan in Multan. The author of the *Tariḡh-i-Mubarak Shahi* gives no date, and follows Barani in placing the experiment after the transfer of the capital. The dates 727, and 734 A.H. given by Firishta and Hājji-ad-Dabīr respectively are incorrect. The first token coin in Nelson Wright's Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta (II, p. 59) is dated 730 A.H. under the head 'forced currency,' and no other coin, bearing an earlier date, has yet been brought to light by any numismatist. The token currency was certainly not in vogue, when Ibn Batūtah came to India in 1333 A.D., and his silence is indicative of the fact that its circulation extended over a very brief period. By the time Ibn Batūtah reached Dihli, it appears, the people had ceased to talk about this innovation, and its mischievous effects had been com-

⁴³ This abundance was caused by the influx of gold into Northern India consequent upon the successful expeditions of Kafur and the Sultan himself. The introduction of the gold piece shows that there was more gold than silver in the country.

⁴⁴ Masālik, Paris, MS.

Quatrèmeré, Notices etc. Extraits, XIII, p. 211.

Shaikh Mubarak bears testimony to the usefulness of the doḡani, four of which were equal to a hashtḡani.

pletely repaired. From Thomas' collections it is clear that the experiment was tried after the transfer of the capital, for there are coins issued from Daulatabad bearing the date 730 A.H.⁴⁵ Numismatic evidence further establishes the fact that the token currency lasted only for a brief period, i.e., during the years 730—33 A.H.⁴⁶ By the year 734 A.H. the currency was restored to its old level, as is proved by a coin of unalloyed silver issued from the Dihli mint, which contains 168 grains of silver, the average metallic weight of the genuine *tankah*.⁴⁷

The token currency was not an original device, for towards the close of the 13th century Qublā Khan, the Mongol emperor of China, had encouraged and developed in his dominions the use of paper currency. He introduced a paper currency in the first year of his reign, i.e., 1260 A.D., and continued to issue it fearlessly to the end. This paper money was called the Chāo and its use was enforced throughout the vast empire on pain of death.⁴⁸ All

⁴⁵ Coin No. 195 in Thomas' collection.

Chronicles, p. 249.

⁴⁶ Thomas, pp. 249—53.

Rogers, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 62.

Numismatic Supplement, J.A.S.B., XXXV, p. 149.

Yule, Travels of Marco Polo, I, p. 384.

⁴⁷ Thomas, The Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S.B., 1867, p. 13.

⁴⁸ D'Ohoisson, Histoire des Mongols, II, pp. 486-87.

The Mongols used the paper money but they did not invent it.

Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. I, p. 136.

Marco Polo, Notes and Addenda, edited by Cordier, pp. 70-71.

Yule, Travels of Marco Polo, I, pp. 272-73.

Marco Polo (I, p. 378) describes in detail how the paper money was made. He writes:—

"He makes them take the bark of a certain tree, in fact of the mulberry tree, the leaves of which are the food of silk-worms,—these trees being so numerous that whole districts are full of them. What they take is a certain fine white bark or skin which lies between the wood of the tree and the thick outer bark, and this they make into something resembling sheets of paper, but black. When these sheets have been prepared, they are cut up into pieces of different sizes. The smallest of these sizes is worth a half tornesel; the next, a little larger still is worth half a silver groat of Venice; another a whole groat; others yet two groats, five groats and ten groats. There is also a kind worth one Bezant of gold, and others of three Bezants, and so up to ten. Yule, Marco Polo, I, p. 378.

Cordier, Travels, I, pp. 423-24.

transactions were effected through the new circulating media, and the emperor devised a curious method to compel his subjects to accept the new currency. Great care was taken to prevent forgery by private individuals.⁴⁹ Foreign merchants from India and other countries, who brought their gold and silver, or gems and pearls, were prohibited from selling to any one except the emperor, who offered a more liberal price and made prompt payments. They readily accepted the Chāo, partly through the wear of the Khan, and partly for the sake of convenience, for they could purchase with them anything they liked all over his empire. Marco Polo writes that the Khan bought an unlimited quantity of precious goods, while the money that he paid cost him nothing at all. Proclamations were issued from time to time that any one who may have gold or silver or other precious articles will get a handsome price at the royal mint. In the last decade of the 13th century A.D. in the year 1294 A.D. a similar experiment was tried by Gai Khātū, the ruler of Persia, who was a man of profligate habits. So lavish

⁴⁹ Marco Polo describes (I, pp. 378-79) how the Khan tried to prevent forgery.

"All these pieces of paper are issued with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver; and on every piece a variety of officials whose duty it is, have to write their names, and to put their seals. And when all is prepared duly, the chief officer deputed by the Khan smears the seal entrusted to him with vermilion, and impresses it on the paper, so that the form of the seal remains stamped upon it in red; the money is then authentic. Any one forging it would be punished with death. And the Khan causes every year to be made such a vast quantity of this money which costs him nothing, that it must equal in amount all the treasure in the world."—Cordier, I, pp. 423-24.

Ibn Batūtah has given an account of the paper currency that was used in China when he visited that country as Sultan Muhammad's envoy. He writes:—"The people of China do not use gold or silver in their sales and purchases. They use paper notes on which is affixed the seal of the Khan. Twenty-five such notes are called by the name of *balisht* (بالشت) which corresponds to the *Dīnār* of our country. When the paper is worn out by constant use, it can be changed at the royal mint free of charge."

It appears from his account that the paper currency was well regulated in China under the Mongols. It is strange why Ibn Batūtah omitted to make mention of Muhammad Tughluq's experiment of token currency. Howorth also mentions '*balish*' but he says that its value is not ascertained. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kushāi* ('Ala-al-Din 'Atāmulk Juveni) writes that the *balish* of gold and silver in weight in gold or silver equals 110 miskals. D'Oholsson says that the value of the *balish* cannot be definitely ascertained.

Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 259-60.

Howorth, History of the Mongols, Pt. III, pp. 279-80.

in expenditure was he that some times he made presents to the Khātūns to the amount of 30 *tumans* at a time, and 'many women fled away to avoid his lust, while others sent their boys and girls to distant places to escape him.' The treasury was emptied by the extravagance of Gai Khātū and his equally profligate minister, and the debts of the state reached a high figure. To remedy this financial crisis, one 'Īz-al-Din Muzaffar Ibn Muhammad 'Āmid suggested to the wazir the use of a paper currency like the Chinese *Chāo* in lieu of metallic money. The proposal was welcome to Gai Khātū who ordered the issue of the *Chāo* from Tebriz in spite of the remonstrances of Singtur, the most intelligent and capable of the Mongol grandees. Having its origin in fraud, the new currency made an appeal to religion and at the top contained the Quranic formula ' *Lā Illah ill'Allah-Muhammad-al-rasūl-al-allah* ' (There is no God but God and Muhammad is His Prophet). Its acceptance was enforced by means of a royal edict which ran thus: "whoever defaces it shall be punished with death, with his wife and children and his property shall be confiscated." A *Chāo* house was established in every province with a regular staff of officers, and to crown all these follies the use of metallic money was forbidden by a royal decree, and the people were commanded to take their coins to the mint to receive paper notes in exchange on pain of death. The might of the Sultan compelled obedience for eight days, but afterwards the people refused to accept the new money and trade came to a standstill. The markets were deserted and riots and rebellions broke out everywhere. The wazir soon discovered his folly and an ordinance was issued to suppress the *Chāo*.⁵⁰

With these examples before him, Muhammad Tughluq, who is described as a 'Prince of moneyers' by a numismatist of repute, thought of trying the experiment. He did not seek to employ the methods of Qublā, nor was he actuated by such unworthy motives as led the ignoble Gai Khātū to inflict untold suffering on his subjects. The Sultan was known to be a man of unblemished character, and never betrayed any weakness for those vices which disgraced the lives of a great many monarchs in the middle ages both in the east and west. All authorities agree in saying that he was no Epicurean who needed money for personal pleasures, nor was he a careless and spendthrift ruler who had allowed the finances to

⁵⁰ D'Ohosson, *Histoire des Mongols*, IV, pp. 102-04.

go to ruin. Not even his avowed adversaries have imputed to him the vice of avarice which was a besetting sin of 'Ala-al-Din, as is borne out by the hospitable manner in which foreigners were received at his court. What, then, was the motive which induced him to introduce such an innovation? According to Barani, two reasons led to this disastrous experiment,—firstly, the desire to get money which the Sultan needed to pay the countless troops he wished to organise for the conquest of the whole world, and secondly, the deficiency in the treasury caused by his lavish gifts.⁵¹ It cannot be denied that a great deal of money had gone out of the royal treasury. Muhammad had made large gifts to all and sundry on his accession to the throne, and the transfer of the capital to Devagiri had entailed a huge expenditure. The advances from the treasury to the emigrants and the construction of the new metropolis of Islam of which a full account is given by the author of the *Masālik* and Ibn Batūtah together with the suppression of the first two rebellions of the reign, one of which was serious enough, must have taxed the resources of the state heavily. The taxation policy in the Doab had failed, and the famine that still stalked the most fertile part of the kingdom, with the consequent decline in agriculture must have brought about a perceptible fall in the revenues of the state. The invasion of the Mughal chief Tarmāshirīn Khan had also caused some financial drain. For a whole year the troops which Firishṭa estimates at 370,000 were maintained at the expense of the state and large gifts had to be made to the Khorasani nobles and amirs to aid the Sultan in his projected expedition to their country. But to set off against these losses were the gains which the Sultan had

⁵¹ Barani writes :

سلطان محمد را از باعث همت عالیہ در خاطر افتاد کہ ربع
مسکون رامی باید گرفت و در تخت امر خود می باید آورد
و برائے این مهم لایمکن حشم بے اندازه و بے حد در بایست شد
و حشم بسیار بے مالہائی فاخر دست نمی داد و در خزاین از کثرت
اعطا و ایثار خزنی بزرگ افتادہ بود -

The India Office and Bankipore, MSS. agree.

India Office, MS. f. 301.

Bankipore, MS. f. 232 a.

Buhar, MS. f. 144 b.

Calcutta Text, p. 475.

made early in his reign during the conquest of the Deccan. / Among later writers Yahyā, Badāoni and Firishta ascribe the measure to the emptiness of the royal treasury. Yahyā positively states⁵² that the treasury became empty, and the avenues of income were closed. But Nizam-al-Din Ahmad does not speak of the emptiness of the treasury and writes that because his troops and revenue were not sufficient for the conquest of the entire globe he designed to issue a copper coin in order to accomplish his object.⁵³ Hājji-ad-Dabīr states that the principal objective of the Sultan was to hoard his gold coins by having recourse to the scheme, and it is probable that he may have desired to keep his gold in reserve for his foreign expeditions and other enterprises. The truth seems to be that the Sultan's object was to multiply currency and not to replenish an empty treasury. This is proved by the fact that he afterwards withdrew all the token coins, and paid gold and silver coins in exchange for those of copper and managed an acute financial crisis with success.⁵⁴ When Ibn Batūtah came to India in 1333 A.D., he heard nothing about the token currency, and we may infer from his silence—it may be noted here that Ibn Batūtah mentions the sufferings caused by the transfer of the capital to Devagiri which occurred before his arrival—that the people were entirely satisfied with the Sultan's policy. Neither Barani nor Ibn Batūtah speaks of financial stringency after the failure of the token currency. On the contrary, both agree in saying that the Sultan's prodigal generosity continued, and large sums of money were spent in promoting agriculture, in administering famine relief and in financing punitive expeditions. It is difficult to follow Barani who makes two contradictory statements in the same breath. At first he says, the Sultan's treasury

⁵² Yahyā writes :—

چون سلطان بخششها وانعامها بظباط کرد و مالها باسراف
بخشید مال خزاین نفاذ پذیرفت و طریق درآمد و ابواب دخل بکلی
مسدود شد مهر مس راتنکه فرمود و مهرے بمقدار بست پنجگانی
و انرا ایک تنکه حال نہاد -

⁵³ The Calcutta Text of the *Tabqat* has :—

خزاین او بایں ارادہ وفا نمی نمود - جهت
تخصیص سرام سکه مس پیدا کرد -

⁵⁴ Cal. Text, p. 476.

was depleted and in another place he says that when the people refused to accept the token coins the Sultan withdrew them and gave gold and silver *tankahs* in exchange.⁵⁵ How could this be possible if the treasury were depleted? The subsequent narrative of Barani indicates no financial distress, notwithstanding the severe and protracted famine which inflicted much misery upon the population, and he is fully supported by Ibn. Batūtah: To reinforce the desire to multiply the currency, there was probably the love of experiment, for the Sultan who was a man of an original cast of mind, well-versed in the arts and sciences of the age, may have felt a powerful impulse to embark upon this experiment in a scientific spirit. The royal exhortations which accompanied the introduction of the currency and the subsequent behaviour of the Sultan effectively rebut the charge of eccentricity, which has been brought against him by modern writers. That the scheme was not a mere figment of disordered fancy or the outcome of wanton caprice is proved by the fact that throughout his reign the Sultan evinced a keen interest in the reform of the coinage, and never sought to deprive his subjects of their wealth by any means. It must, however, be admitted that he was not a financial expert, for with the example of the Persian Chāo and its subsequent failure before him, he failed to provide those safeguards which were absolutely essential for the success of a token currency.

Having resolved to increase his resources, the Sultan introduced his token currency. There is nothing to show that on this subject he consulted his ministers. Paper was not favoured, because it was liable to be rapidly damaged, and because it had no tangible value whatsoever, and the Indian people, long accustomed to metallic money which they could weigh and feel, would not accept it. Copper tokens were issued, and a royal decree proclaimed that they should be used in all transactions and should pass current just as

⁵⁵ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 486.

The India Office, MS. (f. 302) has :—

"They brought to the treasury copper coins and in return received gold and silver coins, *Shashkanis* and *dokanis*."

The Calcutta Text is clear :

سکه مس را در خزانه رساندند و بدل آن مهر تنگه زر و نقره
و شش گانی و دوگانی در خانه بردند -

the gold and silver coins had passed. The various texts of Barani contain only the words *مهر مس* (copper coin), while Firishta alone writes *مهر مس و برنج* (copper and brass coins) and he is supported by numismatic evidence.⁵⁶ The Sultan must have foreseen the possibility of public opposition, but, like a stern mediæval despot, he felt himself strong enough to carry the measure through even in the teeth of popular prejudice or resistance offered by the moneyed classes. That he was not fraudulent is beyond cavil or dispute. A man of remarkable probity both in private and public life, he was rather oppressed with the anxiety to show to his people that he was not actuated by motives of avarice or greed, and that he had no desire to enrich himself at the expense of his subjects.⁵⁷ In striking contrast with Qublā or Gai Khātū, no royal ordinance was issued, laying down drastic penalties to compel acceptance of the token currency. On the contrary, the Sultan is designated on the coins as 'slave Muhammad bin Tughluq hopeful of the money of God.' One coin issued in 730 A.H. bears on it the superscription 'struck as a lawful *dirham* in the time of the slave, Muhammad bin Tughluq.' To enforce the acceptance of his new currency he had recourse not

⁵⁶ Yule writes in his *Cathay and the Way Thither* (IV, p. 59) that the token currency consisted entirely of copper. This view is not correct. There is a brass coin, 136 grains in weight issued from Daulatabad dated 730 A.H.

من اطاع السلطان مهر شد تهنه رایج در روزگار
 نقد اطایع الرحمان بنده امیدوار محمد تغلق
 در تخت دّۀ دولت آباد سال بر هفت صد سی

There are similar coins issued from the Dihli mint in 731 and 732 A.H. Hodiwala, Numismatic Supplement XXXV (J.A.S.B.), pp. 144-45.

Thomas, *Chronicles*, pp. 244, 249-53.

Rogers, *Indian Museum Coins*, Pt. I, p. 63, No. 12911, also p. 63, No. 12912.

Bourdillon, *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, Vol. II, p. 60, No. 384. J.A.S.B., 1883, p. 62.

Sir Richard Temple writes in the *Indian Antiquary* (Vol. I, p. 208):—

"He obliged his people to accept copper and brass tokens as silver coins and issued a stamped leather note currency without any bullion support behind it.—schemes which not even his vengeance when opposed could make to succeed." This statement is misleading and incorrect. No contemporary writer mentions the introduction of a leather note currency and it is curious how Sir Richard got this idea.

⁵⁷ The coin legends reproduced by Hodiwala in the J.A.S.B. Numismatic supplement, XXXV, pp. 153-55, indicate how humble and God-fearing the Sultan was. On the coins he is described as 'slave, a servant and a warrior in the path of God and the just.'

to force but to dictates of religion. The people were asked to obey because 'he truly obeys God who obeys Sultan Muhammad Tughluq.' A brass coin dated 730 A.H. bears on one side of it the superscription, (a Quranic verse) 'sovereignty is not conferred upon every man (but upon) others, and on the reverse side 'obey God and obey the Prophet, and those in authority among you' . . . the last words are significant. The Sultan's humility is remarkable. Some of the earliest token coins issued from Dihli and Daulatabad in 730 and 731 A.H. bear upon them the superscriptions.⁵⁸

and
 مهر شد تنگه , ایچ در روزگار بندۀ امیدوار محمد تغلق
 ضرب الدرهم الشرعی فی زمن العہد محمد بن تغلق

Thus the precepts of religion were pressed into service, and in every way the state tried to give proof of its sincerity. Though the Sultan proceeded cautiously, he failed to foresee that it needed something more than ordinary piety to induce the people to part with their silver and gold for the copper and brass of the Sultan, and for this reason the scheme collapsed.

The new coin became legal tender along with the other circulating media, but the state failed to make the issue of the new coins a monopoly of its own. The result was, as the contemporary chronicler observes in right orthodox fashion, that the house of every Hindu was turned into a mint, and the Hindus in the various provinces coined lakhs and crores of such coins.⁵⁹ Forgery was freely practised; and the people paid their taxes in the new coin and purchased horses, arms, fine apparels, and other valuable articles. The

Nelson Wright, Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, II, p. 59.

Rogers, Catalogue of the Coins in Indian Museum, Calcutta, p. 62.

Forced currency, Tughluqpur, 730 A.H. Brass, Wt. about 140 grains.

Obv.—'He who obeys the Sultan, surely he obeys the Merciful'; margin in Persian, '(struck) in the territory of Tughluqpur, alias Tirhut, in the year seven hundred and thirty.'

Rev.—In Persian, "stamped as a tankah current in the reign of the slave, hopeful (of mercy)."

Muhammad Tughluq.

⁵⁸ N. Wright, Cat. Coins, No. 375, p. 59.

Thomas, pp. 249, 251, Nos. 195, 196, 201, 202.

Rogers, Coins of the Indian Museum Catalogue, I, 1893, Calcutta, pp. 63—

⁵⁹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 475.

Hawālīs,⁶⁰ *muqaddams* and *Khūts* suppressed their gold and silver, forged token coins in abundance, and paid their liabilities with them with the result that the state lost heavily, whereas private individuals made enormous profits. The goldsmiths forged copper tokens in their workshops, and everybody deceived the government by paying his dues in the new coins.⁶¹ Firishta is right in saying that the mint was not properly controlled.⁶² Foreign merchants made their payments in copper to the home manufacturers, though they themselves received for the articles they sold silver and gold in foreign markets. It was difficult to distinguish the productions of the royal mint from private forgeries, for there was no machinery to mark the difference between the two kinds of coins, and there was no check imposed by the state on private manufacture. The new currency exceeded the supply of gold and silver in circulation. Naturally, when the inferior money was put upon the market in large quantities, the superior money was driven out of it through the operation of Gresham's law. The value of gold and silver on account of their scarcity caused by universal suppression rose beyond all proportion, and Barani writes that the "gold coins from their great scarcity rose fourfold and five-fold in value," and in those places where the Sultan was feared 'the gold *tankah* rose to be worth a hundred of the copper *tankahs*.' The wise men who knew that the measure was bound to be short-lived suppressed their gold; and made their purchases with copper.⁶³ The treasury was filled with copper and brass coins; trade with foreign countries came to a stand-still, and all business was paralysed. A great confusion prevailed. The new coins were refused on all sides and became as valueless as 'pebbles or potsherds.'

When the Sultan saw the failure of his scheme, and discontent spread everywhere, he repealed his former edict in great wrath, and ordered the people to exchange gold and silver coins for those of brass and copper.

⁶⁰ The India Office, MS., and the Cal. Text have this word.

The Bankipore MS. has *انگن*, meaning Rais among the Hindus.

⁶¹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 475.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 475.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* supports this:—

چنانچه در قریب ایام خلق روز دست مهر مس را نمی ستاند
و تنکه زر پنجاه تنکه و ششست تنکه رسید -

⁶³ The Arabic History of Gujarat has the same thing.

SULTAN'S EXPERIMENTS AND MUGHAL INVASION 111

In this respect Barani is supported by Nizam-al-Din and Firishṭa who probably copied him.⁶⁴ Yahyā who must have consulted other works than Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Badāoni who copies him and Hājji-ad-Dabīr who is also an independent authority state that gold coins were given in exchange for those of copper. They make no mention of silver. Their statement seems more probable inasmūch as the scarcity of silver, which is established by numismatic evidence would not permit exchange through silver on any considerable scale. Ranking in a footnote to his translation of Badāoni's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārīkh* (Vol. I, pp. 306-7) raises a doubt whether the coins were exchanged at their relative metal value or their face value. Barani is explicit on the subject. He says clearly that those who brought copper tokens to the treasury received gold and silver *tankahs*, *Shashkanis* and *dokanis* in return. The coins were of course exchanged according to their face value, otherwise how would it be possible to allay popular discontent, which was the chief object of the Sultan in issuing the decree of withdrawal? Besides, exchange at the relative metallic value would hardly redound to the credit of the Sultan, and would be utterly inconsistent with the policy he pursued in commending his new currency to the people. Badāoni means what he says when he writes that those who brought copper coins to the treasury received for them gold *tankahs* in equal value.⁶⁵ Thousands of men from different parts of the empire who had flung away the token coins, knowing them to be utterly worthless, into the obscure corners of their houses diligently traced them out, and large heaps were brought to the treasury,

⁶⁴ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 476.

India Office MS. f. 302.

The T. M. has :

و فرمود که هر که مهر مس در خانه باشد بیارد و از
خزانه تنکه زر ببرد مبلغ خلق بدین سبب غنی گشت و از
خزانه تنکهها برد و از مهر مس مطبوع شد تا غایت در کوشک
تعلق آید چو پشهنما مانده بود -

Firishṭa agrees and writes :—

فرمود هر کس سکه مس داشته باشد بخزانه رسانیده عوض آن تنکه
زر د نقره بستاند -

Lucknow Text, p. 134.

Nizam-al-Din follows Barani, Cal. Text, p. 203.

⁶⁵ Ranking, Al-Badaoni, I, p. 306.

and mounds of them rose in the fort of Tughluqabad, where they were seen a century later in the reign of Mubarak Shah Sayyid.⁶⁶ The Sultan who meant no deception, thus became the dupe of his own device, and the state treasury suffered a heavy drain. Briggs in a passage, which purports to be a translation of *Firishta*—though it is not to be found in the original text—writes: 'After the treasury was emptied there still remained a heavy demand. This debt the king struck off and thousands were ruined.⁶⁷ How would it have been possible for the Sultan to tide over the difficulty, if this had been true? *Firishta's* statement would seem to imply a charge of dishonesty against the Sultan which is unsustainable in the face of contemporary evidence.

The Sultan's decree injured his own interests, but no irretrievable confusion seems to have been caused by the failure of the scheme. There were no riots or rebellions as in Persia and the silence of the Moorish traveller, who visited Dihli only four years later is indicative of the fact that no disastrous results ensued, and the people soon forgot the token currency.

The failure of the scheme, however, well intentioned, was inevitable in the India of the 14th century. To the people at large in those days brass was brass and copper was copper, however urgent the needs of the state, which required a large amount of circulating media to facilitate transactions in the wide dominions of the Sultan and to enable him to put his grandiose plans into execution. The Sultan made no allowance for the conservative character of the people of India, who are always distrustful of change, and whose acceptance of a paper currency even in modern times is more in the nature of a submission to an inevitable evil than a willingness to profit by the use of a convenient circulating medium. The mint was not a state monopoly, and the unfettered coinage of money by private individuals, prevented the token coins from being of the same design, finish and quality. Nothing was done by the state to detect fraud and forgery, and the indiscriminate exchange which took place at the treasury was due to the desire of the Sultan confounded by an unforeseen situation to make full amends for his mistake. Probably he wished to obliterate all memory of the

⁶⁶ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS., Badāoni, Cal. Text, p. 229.

⁶⁷ Briggs, I, p. 415.

The passage is not to be found in the Lucknow Text of *Firishta*. Lucknow Text, p. 134.

unfortunate experiment, and hence chose a course of reckless generosity. Modern writers have condemned the measure in unequivocal terms, and having followed Firishta they have shared the errors into which he had fallen. The judicious Elphinstone wrongly attributes the failure of the scheme to the 'king's insolvency and the instability of his government, which destroyed the credit of his tokens from the first.' This assumption is not warranted by facts which point to a different conclusion. Not only was the Sultan able to withdraw all the token coins that he had issued, but he had enough money in his treasury, which modern writers have erroneously supposed to have been completely denuded of specie, to give genuine coins of gold and silver in exchange for those of copper and brass. The credit of the government stood as high as ever, and no bankruptcy followed, for the Sultan did not abandon his expeditions. From the accounts of Barani, Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik* it is clearly established that after the year 735 A.H. the Sultan spent vast sums of money in administering famine relief and in making presents to foreigners, who visited his court, and there is not even a casual hint to suggest that he ever experienced financial stringency.

There is another explanation of this currency muddle which needs mention. The Sultan was compelled to have recourse to this expedient by the shortage in the world's supply of silver. There was a great scarcity of coins in England in the reign of Edward III about the year 1335 A.D. and the preamble of his first statute on the subject complains that diverse persons beyond the seas do endeavour themselves to counterfeit our sterling money of England, and to send into England their weak money in deceit of us, and damage, and oppression of our people, and in order to prevent this evil he forbade the export of bullion without a license.⁶⁸ Similar difficulties were felt in other countries. The Dutch also made a strict law forbidding the export of bullion. Scotland experienced a similar difficulty, and the debasement of currency led to considerable inconvenience in that country. The need for money was pressing, and the legislation of these countries betrays a desire to multiply the currency for ordinary purposes. Muhammad Tughluq, on coming to the throne, was confronted with a serious problem, created by the scarcity of silver and its depreciation, consequent upon the

⁶⁸ Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*, pp. 326—29.

influx of gold from the Deccan into Hindustan. Soon after his accession, he introduced a gold *dinar* of 200 grains and an '*adali* or a silver coin of 140 grains in place of the gold and silver *tankahs*, which had hitherto been in use, and which had weighed 175 grs. each. The introduction of the gold *dinar* and the revival of the '*adali* show that there was an abundance of gold and a relative scarcity of silver in the country. The relative fall in the value of gold had created a divergence from the usual rate of exchange, 10 to 1 as between the current silver and gold coins. Mr. Edward Thomas is of opinion that 8:1 was the normal ratio of gold and silver in the country, but he does not clearly state his reasons for making this statement.⁶⁹ An examination of the ratio of gold and silver in the middle ages in the east and west leads to a different conclusion which supports the ratio 10:1.⁷⁰ When the Sultan came to the throne, he noted this divergence. Now, three courses were open to him:

- (1) either to reduce the number of silver coins that could be exchanged for a gold coin, while maintaining the usual weights of 175 grains each, or
- (2) to maintain the weight of the silver coin as of old at 175 grains and to increase the weight of the gold coin in proportion to the new metallic values in the market, or
- (3) to so adjust the relative weights in the coins of the two metals as to maintain the old rate of exchange between the coins of the two metals and yet conforming to the new relative metallic values of the coins in the market.

Fully alive to the dangers of changing the usual rate of exchange as between the coins of the two metals—a rate to which people were accustomed—he adopted the third course and reduced the weight of the silver coin to 140 grains, while increasing the weight of the gold coin to 200 grains. Obviously, he wished to avoid interference with the usual rate of exchange for that would have disturbed the public mind, and dislocated business also to some extent. The change which he effected made it possible for one gold coin to pass in exchange for ten silver coins, while bringing the relative metallic values in conformity to the market values of the two metals which implied a ratio of 7:1. The validity of this

⁶⁹ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 232.

⁷⁰ Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, p. 62.

assumption is established by the fact that the Sultan after the failure of his token currency reverted to the old *tanqah* and there are coins of 175 grains issued in 732 and 734 A.H.⁷¹ The experiment of 200 grain *dinar* and 140 grain *'adali* did not work satisfactorily, and there is clear numismatic evidence to the effect that the Sultan withdrew them after 732 A.H.⁷² It does not imply increase in the quantity of silver in the country, but indicates an attempt on the part of the Sultan to restore his credit and to regain public confidence which must have been shaken by the unlimited supply of the token coins. Another piece of corroborative evidence is furnished by Ibn Batūtah, which even Thomas says he cannot contest.⁷³ The traveller writes that when the Sultan ordered the payment of 67,000 *tanqahs* which included the amount of his debt, 55,000 *tanqahs* and a gift of 12,000 *tanqahs*, he received only 6,233 *tanqahs* of gold after the usual deduction of 10 per cent. at the royal treasury.⁷⁴ When worked out, this establishes a ratio of about 10:1. The receipt of gold coins by Ibn Batūtah for the payment of his debts, though not conclusive evidence of the scarcity of silver, is significant, and furnishes incontestable evidence of the fact that ten silver *dinars* exchanged for one of gold. It may be argued that Ibn Batūtah accepted gold coins for convenience sake, but this argument does not hold good, because it was immaterial to him whether he paid his debts in gold or silver. Certainly he did not want to hoard the

⁷¹ Nelson Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, p. 54, No. 326. Weight, 170.3 grains.

Thomas, Chronicles, p. 215, No. 188, weight, 168 grains.

بذل الاسلام سنة اربع و ثلاثين و سبعمائة

On the margin it has the following words:

Thomas, the Initial Coinage of Bengal, J.A.S.B., 1867, p. 13.

⁷² Nelson Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, pp. 50—53.

⁷³ Thomas, p. 232.

⁷⁴ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 426.

Ibn Batūtah writes that the Sultan had ordered the payment of his debts which amounted to 55,000 *dinars* and had bestowed upon him a gift of 12,000 *dinars*. All told, he had to be paid 67,000 *dinars* by which he certainly means the silver *tanqahs*. In satisfaction of this claim he received, after the usual deduction of 10 per cent, 6,233 *tanqahs*. This establishes a rate of exchange of one to 9.69 of silver. It is about 1:10. Ibn Batūtah in this connection uses the words *tanqah* and *dinar*. He says he had to pay 67,000 *dinars* but received from the treasury 6,233 *tanqahs* and adds further that a *tanqah* is equal to 2½ gold *dinars* of west.

money thus obtained in which case it might have been more convenient to accept gold.

Besides, there is another evidence of the scarcity of silver which it is impossible to reject. During the subsequent reigns silver becomes more and more scarce so that not more than three silver coins of Firuz have come to light and Thomas mentions only two silver pieces of Muhammad bin Firuz, one of Mubarak Shah, one of Muhammad bin Farīd and none of 'Ālam Shah, and his successors of the Lodi dynasty.⁷⁵ In Nelson Wright's Catalogue of the coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta only two silver pieces are mentioned, one of Muhammad Shah IV and the other of Mahmūd Shah II during a period of nearly two centuries.⁷⁶ In Rogers' Catalogue also there are no coins of silver after the death of Muhammad Tughluq except one of Muhammad Tughluq II (1389—92).⁷⁷ From an examination of the coins it is apparent that there was an increasing tendency on the part of the rulers of Dihli to issue billion coins. Under Firuz the gold coins continue, but he issues billion coins of 144 grains in large quantities to meet the ordinary purposes. This practice was continued by his successors so that coins of pure silver became more and more scarce as time passed. The available coins of the Sayyids and Lodis with two exceptions⁷⁸ consist entirely of gold, billion and copper—a fact which clearly establishes the shortage of silver—and it is not until the middle of the sixteenth century that we come across a large number of silver coins issued from the mints of Sher Shah Suri and his successors.⁷⁹

In judging human affairs and analysing human motives the recondite is apt to be the fallacious as well as the obscure, and the simplest explanation is often the most correct and natural. As has been said before, there is another explanation of this measure which cannot be lightly disposed of. It was the Sultan's innate fondness

⁷⁵ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 308.

No. 264, Weight, 173 grains.

Also p. 309, No. 270, weight, 174 grains.

⁷⁶ Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta*, pp. 71 and 73. Nos. 488 and 510.

⁷⁷ Rogers, *Catalogue of Coins*, Indian Museum, I, No. 816, weight 122.5 grains, p. 74.

Also, pp. 70—74, and pp. 77—86.

⁷⁸ Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta*, pp. 75—83. Thomas, *Chronicles*, pp. 333—36.

⁷⁹ Nelson Wright, *Cat. Coins, Ind. Museum*, pp. 75—83.

for original speculation strengthened by his honesty of purpose and faith in his superior might as a ruler, which led him to embark upon this experiment. The financial need of the time further supported him in this connection. Once he had decided to try the experiment, the arrangement of method and detail was a matter of secondary importance, and hence the measure, free from any defect in its inception, proved a failure.

The scheme failed more on account of prejudice, ignorance and lack of proper safeguards than on account of any inherent defect. It was not a device to rob the people of their gold and silver. The novelty of the experiment, suddenly sprung upon them after their enforced migration from Dihli to Daulatabad thoroughly disgusted them, and they began to look upon the Sultan as a seeker after the impossible. Although it is a calumny to characterise the Sultan's daring expedient as an act of madness, for the currency continued uninterrupted for three years, it is an exaggeration to aver that it was a master-stroke of financial genius. The crisis was overcome, though at an enormous cost, but the effect upon the Sultan's mind was unmistakable. His temper was soured, and the desire to wipe out failure and defeat so common to men of exceptional genius, led him to attempt highly ambitious enterprises with the result that he was engulfed in difficulties from which he could never extricate himself. But in spite of the failure of the measure, the Sultan's honour stands unimpeached, and neither hostile critics nor ignorant historians have ever dared to charge him with avarice or dishonesty. Barani's statement that the token currency was responsible for much of the disturbances of Muhammad's reign is not justified by facts.⁸⁰ The coins continued in use from 730 till 732 A.H. without any rebellion or disturbance, and when failure threatened him on all sides, the Sultan withdrew them. Again, for five years after the withdrawal of the token coins there was no serious rebellion in Northern India. Ibn Batūtah who reached Dihli towards the close of 1333 A.D. does not suggest that any of the disturbances, of which he makes mention, were due to the token currency. Another fact which goes against Barani is that in no wise did the Sultan relax his administrative vigour, and continued to interest himself in agricultural reforms and famine relief. Indeed, the whole tenor of his subsequent policy clearly shows that his finances were speedily rehabilitated.

⁸⁰ Barani, India Office MS. f. 302.

Calcutta Text, p. 476.

CHAPTER IV

FOREIGN POLICY

Muhammad Tughluq was not satisfied with his vast possessions in Hindustan and the Deccan and like some of the great rulers of the middle ages, he wished to conquer distant countries. It was during the early years of his reign that he formed the ambitious design of conquering Khorasan, 'Iraq and Transoxiana. This project of foreign invasion must have been formed before Ibn Batūtah's arrival in India in 1333 A.D., for he speaks definitely of friendly relations between the rulers of Hind and Khorasan, and says nothing about the Sultan's plans of conquest outside India. The author of the *Majm-al-Fasihi*, who wrote early in the fifteenth century, and who is an independent authority, writes that in 728 A.H. Muhammad Tughluq sent an envoy to the court of Abu Sa'id who reciprocated his friendship and sent with the Indian envoy one Sayyid Azd-al-Din with numerous presents for the Sultan. When the Sayyid presented himself to the Sultan, he ordered him to be taken to the royal treasury where he was permitted to take as much wealth as he desired. But he accepted nothing except a copy of the Quran whereupon the Sultan was immensely pleased and gave him enormous wealth.¹ Now, this account of an independent authority, who had no need to speak in flattering terms of Sultan Muhammad may not be literally true, but it is certainly correct in so far as it suggests friendly relations between the two monarchs. This relationship did not last long, and during the next three or four years, very probably, after the invasion of Tarmāshirīn, Sultan Muhammad began to organise and collect a large army for the invasion of Khorasan. That the scheme was no mad freak of the Sultan is made clear by Barani's account. He was encouraged in his designs by the Khorasani nobles and *amīrs* who came to his court, allured by his lavish generosity. Most of these men had entered the Sultan's service, and they sedulously spurred him on to embark upon this enterprise of doubtful utility. Others who had personal grievances to redress,

¹ *Majm-al-Fasihi*, Bankipore MS. f. 209.

and who had old accounts to settle with the government of Khōrasan, made deceitful representations about the condition of their country and the easy nature of the suggested conquest. A large army was needed for the purpose, and Barani writes that 3,70,000 men were enrolled in the *Diwan-i-'arz* or muster-master's office and were paid for one whole year from the treasury.² But as they remained unemployed, it was found difficult to maintain them during the next year, and so they were disbanded. Barani's statement that there was not sufficient money in the treasury or in the *iqtas* to support them is not to be literally accepted, for the treasury was not emptied as has been shown before.

The project of foreign conquest is mentioned by Barani among these measures of the Sultan's reign which diminished his treasury and brought distress upon the country. Later writers have condemned the scheme in no uncertain terms and have charged the Sultan with madness. It should be borne in mind that the Sultan had built up a large empire in India, and during the first three years of his reign, he had fully reasserted the authority of Dihli over the distant provinces both in the north and the south. There was nothing inherently absurd in the design which is in keeping with his great genius. A tried general who had bravely grappled with foes of stern stuff in the field of battle, and who had subdued the numerous chiefs and princes all over Hindustan and the Deccan, was not the man to shrink from an enterprise that would have, if materialised, greatly redounded to his glory, and enabled him to rank among the mighty conquerors of the Islamic world. Other rulers before him had cherished similar dreams. 'Ala-al-Din had wished to play the role of a world-conqueror, but he was asked to desist from such a course by his advisers who brought home to him his limitations.³ But the circumstances in which Muhammad was placed were different. For 'Ala-al-Din there was sufficient scope in India itself, and he acted wisely in abandoning his scheme of a world conquest. But Muhammad who possessed a vast empire desired a fresh outlet for his ambition and energy. The remarkable success which attended the expeditions undertaken within the country itself filled him with pride, and lent encouragement to his seemingly impossible projects. The condition of Persia during the

² Barani, Cal. Text, p. 477.

³ Barani, Cal, Text, pp. 269-70.

fourteenth century was far from satisfactory. Ghāzān had been followed by a series of weak rulers, who by their insensate policy had greatly undermined the foundations of the power which he had so strenuously laboured to build up. The contemporary ruler of Persia, Abu Sa'id, a debauched and profligate monarch, was only a minor when he assumed the sceptre, and soon after his accession he was confronted with baronial jealousy and the subterranean attempts of his guardian Amir Chauban to usurp authority. Prince Yassaur, to whom the present Il-Khan's father Uljaitū had entrusted an important province, was foiled in his attempts to increase his power, and was murdered by his relative Kepak Khan Chaghtai, who cherished feelings of hostility towards him. Amir Chauban's tutelage galled Abu Sa'id, and he longed to rid himself of a powerful subordinate who had become the *major domo* of the palace. His victory over the Khan of the Golden Horde in 1325 A.D. only served to heighten his insolence, and the dominant position which he had acquired in the state not only tied the hands of Abu Sa'id but also kindled feelings of jealousy and resentment among the nobility. In the same year the Chaghtai chief Tarmāshirīn who invaded Khorasan was driven beyond the Oxus by Chauban's son Amir Hasan who encountered him near Ghazni and inflicted a sharp defeat upon him. All this aggravated Chauban's arrogance, and so great was the resentment felt in the royal seraglio that one day one of his father's widows Duniyā Khātūn addressed Abu Sa'id in these words: 'If I were a man, I would not have allowed Chauban and his son to behave as they are doing.' When pressed by Abu Sa'id to be more explicit, the lady complained of the conduct of Chauban's son Damishq Khwajah who made free with the widows of Uljaitū. Abu Sa'id was struck with shame and began to devise means to get hold of the culprit in the manner suggested by Duniyā Khātūn. The young man was arrested and put to death by a Mongol nobleman, Misr Khwajah, and a slave Lulu by name, and his house was plundered.⁴ When Chauban resisted Abu Sa'id's wish to marry his daughter Baghdad Khātūn, of whom he had become enamoured, he resolved upon his destruction. Knowing the king's intentions, Chauban consulted his son Hasan and others as to the course which

⁴ Ibn Batūtah gives a full account of the manner in which the young man was caught and put to death. See Vol. II, pp. 118-19. The murdered man's head was suspended from the gates of Sultaniya on August 25, 1327 A.D.

should be adopted. They decided to have recourse to arms in order to save themselves and Chauban put to death Wazir Rukn-al-Din Sa'in and collected a force of 70,000 men with whom he advanced upon 'Iraq. At first he marched towards Mashed and then towards Simān, from where he sent the great Shaikh 'Alai-ad-dowlat to intercede with the Sultan. The Shaikh tried in vain to appease the wrath of Abu Sa'id and his officers who clamoured for his life. Chauban continued his march and reached Kuhar or Kurhā, called Sari Kemash by Abul Fedā and Ibrahimabad by Hamdullah, which was only a day's journey from the Sultan's camp. But most of Chauban's men deserted him and went over to the side of Abu Sa'id. In despair, he fled to Khorasan and then to Herat, where he sought refuge with Malik Ghiyas-al-Din, but the latter betrayed him, and strangled him to death by the orders of his suzerain.

Amir Chauban's death was a heavy blow to the Ilkhāns whom he had served with rare fidelity. His sons were indignant at the brutal murder of their father, and one of them Timur-tash fled to the Sultan of Egypt to implore his intervention in order to avenge the death of his father, but Abu Sa'id forestalled him by informing the ruler of Egypt that the death of Chauban was due to his unbridled exercise of authority. Timur-tash was well received at the Egyptian court, but when Abu Sa'id insistently demanded his extradition, the Sultan of Egypt imprisoned him, and caused his death by poison on the night of Thursday, August 22, 1328 A.D. Khorasan remained in a state of chronic disorder. Narin Togāi, the ambitious governor of the province wished to extend the sphere of his authority and came into collision with the Malik of Herat, and in the encounters that followed he was repulsed by Shams-al-Din, one of the sons of the Malik, and was compelled to retreat. Mortified by this defeat the governor vented his wrath upon his subjects, and levied a heavy blackmail upon them in order to carry out his nefarious plans. The news of his oppressions and exactions reached Abu Sa'id, who was filled with rage, and the imperious lady Baghdad Khātūn employed her art to inflame the mind of her husband against one whom she considered to be an accomplice in the murder of her father and brother. The disaffected governor was condemned to death on October 5, 1327 A.D., and his head was suspended from the walls of Sultania. The Khan of Chaghtai, who had not forgotten his defeat of 1326 A.D., derived encouragement from these internal disorders and complications, and towards the end of

May, 1328 A.D. he again determined to lead an expedition into Khorasan, but the danger was averted by the promptitude of Abu Sa'id who was capable of energetic action in emergent circumstances. In 1329 A.D. Ghiyas-al-Din, governor of Herat, died and was succeeded by his eldest son Shams-al-Din who died in 1330 A.D. and was succeeded by Hāfiz who was assassinated by his grandees in 1332 A.D. The state of disorder in Herat and Khorasan, accompanied by the scrambles and machinations of parties in which the Sultana Baghdad Khātūn played an important part, added to the difficulties of Abu Sa'id. The Chaghtai prince still looked with greedy eyes on Khorasan, and watched with secret satisfaction the state of disorder that existed in the province.

Such was the condition of Khorasan when Muhammad planned his expedition, and it was by no means an absurd idea in itself. But there can be no doubt that the scheme was impolitic in the highest degree, for the country had not yet recovered from the effects of his two unfortunate experiments—the transfer of the capital and the introduction of the token currency. Judging from the circumstances which existed at the time, it may be said that the projected expedition was a blunder, and had little chance of success. Though the Sultan was not wanting in physical courage and prowess, he miscalculated the situation, and failed to see the insuperable difficulties placed in his way by man and nature and the vast distances. Between him and Khorasan and 'Iraq lay huge mountains and hostile peoples to contend against whom were needed greater resources than he possessed. To mobilise a huge host through the icy passes of the Hindukush or the Himalaya was an enterprise before which sturdier generals might have quailed, especially when the country was in the throes of a severe famine, and which would have drawn him far away from his *points d'appui*. The difficulties of transport were equally great, and there was every possibility of the convoys of supplies being robbed by the border tribes. It has been urged in support of the scheme that the Sultan of Egypt who had become an ally of Muhammad Tughluq had promised to detain the Persian forces in the wrong quarter by threatening the western frontiers⁵. It is true, the Sultan of Egypt was an ambitious monarch. To extend the sphere of his influence he exchanged embassies with the Mongols of Kepchak, of Persia, kings of Yemen and Abyssinia:

⁵ United Provinces Historical Society Journal, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 19.

and West Africa, with the emperors of Constantinople and the kings of Bulgaria. But it is difficult to understand why he should promise help against Abu Sa'id when he had established friendly relations with him. Abul Feda who saw with his own eyes the 'Iraqian embassy at the Egyptian court writes that on Sunday Muharram 28, 728 A.H. the Sultans of Egypt and Sham summoned the envoys of Abu Sa'id to their camp. The embassy consisted of three men Arsha Bugha, the leader of the deputation and Ayaji or Abbaji and Barja, who was a son-in-law of Amir Badr-al-Din.⁶ According to D'Ohosson this friendship established in 728 A.H. lasted till the close of Abu Sa'id's reign.⁷ The two monarchs styled each other as brothers, and they frequently exchanged embassies. In 1328 A.D. when an envoy named Timurbaka went to the Egyptian court to ask for the hand of one of Sultan Nasir's daughters on behalf of Abu Sa'id, the Sultan excused himself on the ground that his daughter was too young, and added that when she was grown up, the request should be granted. These friendly relations lasted for the rest of Abu Sa'id's reign, for in 734 A.H. Yasaur, a Mongol chief, against whom the Ilkhan bore a grudge, was put to death by Sultan Nasir's orders issued at the instance of Abu Sa'id. Ibn Batutah who is a contemporary writer corroborates the above statement, and says that deep and genuine friendship existed between these two monarchs. Muhammad, in order to secure Sultan Nasir's help, sent an embassy to the Egyptian court in 1331-32 A.D., but it does not seem to have met with any satisfactory response.⁸ Possibly the western ruler felt that the acquisition of a slice of Persian territory on the frontier was a greater advantage than the friendship of the Sultan of Hind, who was certainly inferior to him in position. Tarmashirin Khan, the

⁶ Abul Feda, Printed Text, pp. 100, 102.

Allah. Public Library Edition.

Abul Feda writes that on Sunday, 28, in the month of Muharram, 728 A.H. the Sultans of Egypt and Sham (Syria) summoned the ambassadors of Abu Sa'id to their tent and talked to them regarding the extradition of Timurtash. The embassy consisted of Arsha Bugha, a native of Kurd, who was the leader of the deputation and Ayaji and Barja who was a son-in-law of Amir Badr-al-Din Janji. Friendly relations were established between Sultan Nasir and Abū Sa'id.

D'Ohosson, IV, p. 695.

⁷ D'Ohosson, IV, p. 699.

Howorth, The History of the Mongols, pt. III, pp. 616-17.

⁸ Lanepoole, A History of Egypt, p. 307.

Chaghtai chief, on whose support the Sultan counted had remained on the Khorasan frontier for four years, but it does not appear as Mr. Gardener Brown suggests that he did so 'to undertake his share of the invasion.'⁹ Tarmāshirīn was a doubtful ally, whose chief motive was to gain the utmost advantage for himself. Besides, his deposition just at this time by his turbulent barons who were disappointed at his dilatory policy, and according to Ibn Batūtah's statement at his non-observance of the *Yasāq*, cut short all his schemes of conquest, and placed him in an unfortunate predicament.¹⁰

The scheme was unsound in conception and was the result of inadequate knowledge. The frauds and misrepresentations of the Khorasani nobles actuated by selfish motives obscured the subject further, and prevented things from being seen in their true perspective. We read of no attempts made by the Sultan to study the internal condition of 'Iraq and the adjoining lands and to form an estimate of the resources that should be needed to undertake a task of such magnitude. It was impossible for the Sultan to manage properly such an expedition at a time when the Doab was a prey to famine, and the south still sullen and discontented. Besides, it was not safe to undertake conquest in a foreign country with the aid of a large mercenary army. Mr. Gardner Brown dwells upon the possibility of Persian conquest which, he says, had been attempted before by Mahmud of Ghazni. The analogy is incorrect. Mahmud never acquired a permanent hold on Hindustan nor did he aim at it. It is true he had conquered Khorasan and had received from the Khalifah the usual diploma of investiture with the title of *Yemīn-al-dowlah* (the right hand of the empire) and *Amin-al-millat* (custodian of the faith), but the suzerainty of Ghazni over Khorasan was only nominal. That the conquest of Khorasan was a difficult one for the rulers of Dihli is evidenced by the fact that even Muhammad of

⁹ Journal U.P. Historical Society, I, pt. II, p. 19.

Mr. Gardner Brown follows Lanepoole who says: 'In 1331-32 A.D. Muhammad Tughluq sent an embassy to Egypt by way of Baghdad probably to induce him to assist in the conquest of Khorasan, which he was to do by detaining the Persian forces on the western frontier by leading a simultaneous attack.' A History of Egypt, pp. 309-10.

¹⁰ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 40.

The *Yasāq* (*ياساق*) was a manual containing Chingez Khan's rules and regulations meant for the guidance of Mongol chiefs.

Ghor who was certainly more political in his aims than Mahmud confined himself to his dominion in the Afghan hills. Muhammad Tughluq's circumstances did not favour the consummation of such a grandiose plan. The soldiers of Muhammad Tughluq had hitherto fought in India against the Hindu Rajas and chiefs. They looked upon war with the infidels as a *jihad*, and far other motives than mere love of conquest or territory urged them to fight *a outrance* against them. But to fight against their co-religionists equally fierce and fanatical in their own native land was an arduous task beyond the capacity of the Dihli armies at this period. Muhammad who had no great generals like 'Ulugh Khan or Zafar Khan could not reasonably hope to achieve success in such a gigantic enterprise. It was well for him that the impracticable nature of the project dawned upon his mind early enough, and he abandoned it, for if he had persevered with it, he would have sooner precipitated the disruption of his empire.

In 738 A.H. (1337 A.D.) sometime after the Sultan's return from the Deccan was undertaken the conquest of Nagarkot which is situated in the Kangra district in the Punjab.¹¹

The conquest of
Nagarkot, 738
A.H.

Luckily the court poet Badr-i-Chach gives us the date of this expedition which is supported by circumstantial evidence. Being situated on a hill, the fort of Nagarkot was deemed impregnable and it had defied renowned conquerors in the past.¹² The chief of the place was a

¹¹ Badr-i-Chāch gives the date in the following verse :

کشان حصن دگر کوت را که سنگین بود
شہ زمانہ بتاریخ او خلوا فیہا -
ا ن خ ل و ا ف ی ہ ا
۷۳۸ = ۱ ۵ ۱۰ ۸۰ ۱ ۶ ۳۰ ۶۰۰ ۲ ۱

Qasāid Badr-i-Chāch.

Bankipore MS., No. 140, f. 16.

¹² Badr-i-Chach speaks of the impregnability of the fort which, he says in his poetical language, Dara and Sikandar had not been able to conquer. The royal army, says the poet, contained 1000 regiments and each regiment contained 1000 banners.

ہزار کو کبہ ہر کو کبہ ہزار ہوا

Bankipore MS. f. 16.

powerful prince who, when he heard of the projected invasion, entrenched himself within the fortress and organised his defence. The Sultan marched with an army of 100,000 warriors to fight the battle of Islam and defeated the infidels. According to Badr-i-Chach, a night attack was ordered, and the walls of the fort were battered down after which the victorious army returned to Dihli. The author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* who wrote not long after Muhammad's death in mentioning this expedition says that at the request of the Rai of the place the temple of Jwalamukhi was spared, and the Rai was restored to his former dignity.

After the conquest of Nagarkot was undertaken what has been wrongly described as the Chinese expedition of Muhammad Tughluq. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* which is copied by Badāoni and Firishta places it in the year 738 A.H. which finds partial corroboration in Badr-i-Chach who assigns the year 738 A.H.

The Qarājal
expedition, 728
A.H.

to the conquest of Nagarkot. The so-called Chinese expedition, according to all accounts, was a tragic disaster, and it is probable, almost certain, that this expedition was undertaken soon after the conquest of Nagarkot, for if the disaster had happened before, it would have been impossible to mobilise such a huge army into the mountains as is described by Badr-i-Chach. As Sir Wolseley Haig and Mr. Gardner Brown suggest the two expeditions were connected with each other, and were parts of a general plan to extend the protectorate of Dihli over the Himalayan states.¹³ Much misconception has arisen with regard to this expedition. Modern writers on Indian history following the lead of Firishta have fallen into the error of supposing that the Sultan aimed at the conquest of China, and

The *Sirat* and the *Shash Fatah Kangra* also describe the fortress as an impregnable one.

Bankipore MS.

Elliot, VI, p. 526.

Cunningham writes that the royal family of Kangra is the oldest in India and their genealogy from the time of the founder Susarma Chandra has a much stronger claim to our belief than any one of the long string of names now shown by the more powerful princes of Rajputana.

Ancient Geography of India, edited by Majumdar, pp. 158-59.

¹³ J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 348.

J.U.P. Historical Society, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 20-21.

have therefore condemned it in strong terms.¹⁴ Firishta unequivocally asserts that the Sultan wished to conquer the countries of China and Himachal and the conquest of the latter was meant to facilitate the task of conquering the former. On this point Firishta's text differs from the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, which simply says that the Sultan made an attempt to bring under his control the mountain of Qarājal, which is situated between Hind and China, and it is copied by Badāoni. The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* does not mention the conquest of China as the ultimate object of this expedition.¹⁵ But Firishta is not supported by any contemporary writer in suggesting the conquest of China as the objective of this expedition. Both Barani and Ibn Batūtah clearly state that the expedition was aimed against the Qarājal or Qarāchil mountain which lies between the territories of Hind and China, and they are corroborated by the author of the *Masalik* who writes that the people of Qaraj also owned the suzerainty of Muhammad and paid tribute to him.¹⁶ Ibn Batūtah who gives a more detailed account of the expedition than all others

¹⁴ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 135. Briggs, I, p. 416.

This is what he writes :—

سلطان بفکر تسخیر ولایت چین و ہماچل کہ مابین ولایت
چین و ہند ست افتادہ امرای نامدار و سرداران آزمودہ کار را
با صد ہزار سوار کار آمدنی ہمراہ خواہرزادہ خود خسرو ملک در
سنہ ۷۳۸ گسیل فرمود کہ اول کوہستان ہماچل را بتصرف در آوردند -

¹⁵ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS.

تا کوہ قراچل کہ میان ممالک ہند و چین حایل شدہ است
ضبط کنند -

Badaoni's Text has :—

در سال ثمان و ثلثین و سبعمائینہ (۷۳۸) ہشتاد ہزار سوار
با سرداران نامی برائے تسخیر کوہ ہماچل کہ میان ولایت چین
و ہندوستان حایل است و انرا قراچل ہم میگویند نامزد فرمودہ -

Cal. Text, I, p. 229.

¹⁶ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 477.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 325.

Masalik, Paris MS.

makes no mention of China. The India Office text of Barani uses both forms *Farājal* (فراجل) and *Qarājal* (قراجل) the Bankipore and Calcutta texts have *Farājal* (فراجل) while Ibn Batūtah writes *Qarāchil* (قراچیل). All later writers use the forms *Qarājal* and *Qarāchil* excepting Nizam-al-Din Ahmad, Amin Ahmad Razi and Firiehta who both write *Himachal*.¹⁷ The *Qarājal* or *Qarāchil* mountain is obviously the Himalaya, as is clear from the descriptions of it given by Barani and Ibn Batūtah. Barani says, it is between the countries of Hind and China. Ibn Batūtah, who is writing about something that he knows, says, it is three months' journey in length, and is situated at a distance of 10 stages from Dihli.¹⁸ Later in his narrative, in describing the fief of Amroha, he makes mention of a river which has its source in the *Qarāchil* mountain. The river in question is the Ramganga which Ibn Batūtah by mistake calls Sarju. Here, again, the traveller writes that *Qarāchil* is three months' journey in length, and on the other side of it is the country of Tibet where musk deer is found.¹⁹ This description of *Qarāchil* tallies with that given by him previously, and read along with Barani it leaves no room for doubt that the mountain meant is the Himalaya. It is difficult to point out with exactitude the place at which the royal army entered the mountain, but it appears from Ibn Batūtah's account that the state against which the expedition was aimed was

¹⁷ Tabqat, Cal. Text, p. 204. Haft Iqlīm A.S.B. MS.

و همچنین کراست که کوه قراجل که مابین هند و دیار چین حاصل است ضبط نمائند -

Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 135.

¹⁸ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 325.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 438.

Rashid-al-Din, the author of the *Jam-ut-tawarikh* who completed his work early in the fourteenth century A.D. says regarding the Himalaya:

"Some other mountains are called Harmakūt, in which the Ganges has its source. These are impassable, and beyond them lies Mahāchīn. To these mountains most of the rivers which lave the cities of India have their origin. Besides these mountains there are others called Qalarchal. They resemble crystal balls, and are always covered with snow, like those of Damavend.

Elliot's *Historians*, I, pp. 29-30.

In another place the same authority writes Harmakat for Himalaya which he says is also the source of the Ganges. Further on he says:

'This mountain is impassable on account of the exceeding cold, for the snow never melts. On the other side of it lies Mahāchīn, i.e., Great Chin.'

Ibid., p. 41.

somewhere in the territory now covered by the Garhwal and Kamayun districts bordering on the Tarai. Colonel Yule writes that *Karāchil* is doubtless a corruption of the Sanskrit *Kuverāchal*, a name of mount Kailas where lies the city of Kuvera, the Indian *Plutus*, and is here used for the Himalaya.²⁰ Two other explanations suggest themselves. *Himachal* may have become *Qarāchil* or *Qarājāl* through the carelessness of the scribes and *Nizam-al-Din Ahmad*, *Amin Ahmad Rāzi* and *Firishta* all of whom consulted *Barani* write *Himachal*. *Kūmāchal* is the old name of Kamayun and it is suggested by a distinguished scholar from these hills that the *Qarachil* of *Ibn Batūtah* and *Qarajal* of *Barani* may be its Arabicised or Persianised forms. *Barani* and *Ibn Batūtah* both give *Qarajal* and *Qarachil* as the names of the mountain which *Muhammad Tughluq* wished to conquer. Though *Qarachil* may not be *Kūmāchal*, it is probable that the country attacked was the Himalayan region now comprised in the Kamayun district, which stretched to the borders of the Tarai. The difficulty is set at rest by *Ibn Batūtah* himself who in another place says: 'The emperor of China solicited permission to rebuild the temples in the *Qarachil* mountain. In this mountain there is a place called *Samhal* where the Chinese used to come for pilgrimage. When the Sultan led an attack against the mountain, the city and the temples were ravaged.'²¹ Now modern *Sambhal*²² is not a place of archæological importance, but Buddhist remains have been discovered to the north of *Sambhal*

²⁰ Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, Second Series, pp. 17-18.

Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, II, pp. 410-11.

Rennell in his *Memoirs of a Map of Hindustan* (Introduction, LIII) says that the troops entered by way of Assam, the route formerly taken by *Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji's* troops in the twelfth century. *Rennell* relies upon *Firishta* who is a secondary authority in comparison with *Ibn Batūtah*. *Ibn Batūtah's* account is too detailed to be a mere slip. He distinctly says that the place was nearly 200 miles from *Dihli*.

Qarachil does not seem to be a corruption of *Kuverachal*, the Kailas mountain, as Yule suggests. *Rashid* and *Al-Biruni* apply the word to the Himalaya.

²¹ *Ibn Batūtah*, IV, pp. 1-2.

²² *Sambhal* is situated in 28° 35' N. and 78° 34' E. at a distance of 23 miles south-west from *Moradabad*.

Moradabad District Gaz., p. 253.

Sambul (*Thornton's Gaz.*, IV, p. 368) is also a town in Kashmir twelve miles N.-W. from *Srinagar* but I do not think that is meant.

by General Cunningham. This makes it clear that the royal forces entered the mountains somewhere in the north of the Moradabad district. In concluding his account of the expedition Ibn Batūtah writes that the hill-men made a treaty with the Sultan, because they could not cultivate their lands at the base of the mountain without his permission. This shows that the territory of the mountain Prince extended to the foot of the hills. Mr. Gardner Brown is of opinion that the country attacked was that which is now known as Kūlū to the east of Kangra.²³ The Bamsāvalī of the chiefs of Kūlū informs us that Sikandar Pal, the fifteenth Pal, went to the king of Dihli to seek shelter against the Chinese who had invaded his kingdom. The Raja of Dihli came with an army in person, marched through Kūlū and took Gya Murr Orr (?) and Baltistan together with the country as far as Mansarowar lake.²⁴ This is an indefinite account without any dates, and it would not be right to connect it with Muhammad Tughluq in view of the clear statements of Barani and Ibn Batūtah. Besides, as Hunter says, authentic history first recognises Kūlū in the fifteenth century when Raja Sudh Singh, whom tradition places 7th in descent from the original founder of the dynasty, ascended the throne²⁵ and early in the 14th century it was not so important as to require a lakh of men from Dihli to subdue it, particularly when the chief of Nagarkot had been conquered the year before. This is in conflict with Ibn Batūtah who says that the mountain attacked was 200 miles distant from Dihli. Ibn Batūtah's mention of the Qarāchīl mountain along with the *hazarah* of Amroha,²⁶ and the Ramganga river supports the view that the country attacked was a petty hill state in the Kamayun-Garhwal region not far from the plains. Kamayun was in the fourteenth

²³ Journal, U. P. Historical Society, Vol. I, Pt. II, pp. 20-21.

Kūlū lies between lat. 31° 20' - 32° 33'. Long., 76° 45'. It is a small state in the North-East of the Punjab consisting of a few rugged valleys on the southern slope of the Himalaya together with the surrounding ridges. Thornton, III, p. 180. Hunter, Imp. Gaz., XVI, pp. 15-16.

²⁴ Archæological Report for 1907-08, p. 260.

²⁵ Hunter, Imperial Gaz., XVI, p. 16.

²⁶ Amroha, a town in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, is situated in 28° 54' N. and 78° 28' E. at a distance of 19 miles West-North-West from Moradabad.

century under the sway of the rulers of the Chand dynasty who wielded considerable power. It was never subdued thoroughly by the Muhammadans. Indeed, we learn from the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that the hilly region of Kamayun was the refuge of rebels against the imperial authority. When Khargū, the chief of Katehar, who murdered Sayyid Muhammad of Badaon fled before the arms of Sultan Firuz, he sought refuge in the mountains of Kamayun in the country of the Mahtas who were attacked and defeated by the Sultan.²⁷ We learn from the Muhammadan historians that the Muhammadans encroached upon the lands of hill-men, and consequently Gyan Chand (1374—1419), the ruler of Kamayun, on his accession waited on Sultan Firuz to apply for the grant of the strip of country at the foot of the hills, which had formerly belonged to the Katyuri Rajas.²⁸ The mention of the land at the foot of the mountain is significant.

What was the purpose of the expedition? Barani tells us that it was intended as a preliminary step to the conquest of Khorasan and Transoxiana so that the passage for troops and horses might be rendered easier.²⁹ Barani's knowledge of the geography of the countries with which he had no direct concern was limited like that of many other mediaeval scholars. Being a man of the class of 'Ulama who had never taken part in any campaign, he had no idea of the position of countries outside India. It is not clear why the Sultan should bring under his sway as a preparatory measure for the conquest of Khorasan and Transoxiana the Qarājal mountain, for there is no Qarājal mountain inhabited by the infidels along the route to these countries unless he chose to traverse through inhospitable and highly difficult regions. Further, why should he who was well-acquainted with history, abandon the traditional known

²⁷ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS.

²⁸ Atkinson, N.W. P. *Gazetteer, Himalayan Districts*, Vol. II, pp. 520-21. Almora Gaz., p. 167.

²⁹ Barani writes :—

اندیشه ضبط کوه فراجل بوده است و سلطان محمد را در
خطر گذشت که چون بیش نهان هابی ضبط خراسان و ماوراءالنهر
درکار شده است کوه فراجل که در راه نزدیک میان ممالک
هند و ممالک چین حایل و حجاب شده

route through the passes in the Hindu Kush which had been followed by India's invaders from time immemorial? The Mughals had come through these passes, and it was a fact known to the Sultan. If the Sultan had wished to conquer China or Western Tibet, this statement of Barani might have been intelligible, for the Qarājal is a barrier between these countries and Hindustan. Sir Wolseley Haig is inclined to think that the expedition was a 'disastrous attempt' to conquer Western Tibet, but no contemporary writer mentions the conquest of China or Tibet as the object of this campaign.³⁰ Besides, the Sultan would not be so foolish as to attempt to cross the impassable barrier of the Himalayas. Ibn Batūtah who was then in India and an eye-witness of the disastrous expedition clearly says that it was some Hindu hill chieftain who was compelled to pay tribute to the Sultan. Yahya bin Ahmad who is Barani's immediate successor simply states that the Sultan made an attempt to bring under his control the mountain of Qarājal.³¹ He does not entirely depend upon Barani for information, and therefore his omission to say that the expedition was intended as a preparatory step to the conquest of Khorasan and Transoxiana is significant. Probably the other authorities on which he relied suggested to him this omission. Hajji-ad-Dabīr who follows Barani writes that the mountain of Qarajil, situated between Hind and China, was an obstacle to easy march to Khorasan.³² He mentions an additional motive, not mentioned by any other historian which he borrows from Husām Khan that the Sultan was desirous of admitting into his *haram* by means of marriage (تکلیف) the women of Qarachal, who were noted for their beauty and other womanly accomplishments.³³ We would have

³⁰ J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 348.

There are three passes leading from the Kamayun and British Garhwal territory into Nari or Western Tibet namely, the Mānā Pass, the Niti Pass and the Untadhurā Pass, but it is difficult to believe that the Sultan wished to conquer Tibet, particularly when no contemporary writer mentions it. Towards the Kūlū side there is the Shipki Pass, but it is useless to labour the point further, for a conquest of Western Tibet was never intended.

Sherring, *Western Tibet and the British Borderland*, p. 149.

³¹ T. M., MS.

³² *Arabic History of Gujarat*, Vol. III, p. 877.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 877

was hailed with delight at Dihli, and the troops were ordered to stay in the hills to consolidate their success. But unfortunately the rainy season set in; sickness broke out in the royal camp, and death took a dreadful toll of life. The troops were completely demoralised, and it became difficult to obtain supplies of provisions from Dihli. The hill tribes took advantage of the difficulties of the imperialists, and when the latter retreated through the narrow and difficult passes with their numbers thinned by disease and famine, the wily mountaineers out-flanked the wings of the army, and attacked it. The royal baggage was plundered, and the infuriated Hindus felled trees from the mountain tops so that the soldiers of the royal force were flung head-long into the abyss under their crushing weight, and many lives were lost. For seven days the army suffered heavily owing to the want of provisions. All communication posts were dismantled, and the garrison was driven away by the enemy. Only ten horsemen, according to Barani and three according to Ibn Batūtah, survived to tell the story of that gruesome tragedy, which was largely due to miscalculation and defective strategy.³⁶ When the royal forces reached the low country, they found it inundated by rain, and men and beasts alike had to suffer great privations, particularly because no succour was available from any quarter. The retreat was disastrous, and seriously affected the military strength of the Sultan, for he was never afterwards able to collect such a large force to fight against his foes. At last, he made peace with the mountain chief who agreed to pay tribute, when he saw that it was impossible for his subjects to cultivate the low lands at the foot of the hills without acknowledging the authority of the Sultan of Dihli. The object of the expedition was achieved through a tremendous sacrifice. The military strength of the empire suffered considerably, and revolts and disturbances occurred throughout the vast dominions of the Sultan.

Was the expedition aimed against China? We do not know Firishta's authority for saying that the expedition was aimed against

³⁶ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 478

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 327.

He says only three men survived the disaster. Two of these were commander Nukbiah and Badr-al-Din Daulat Shah. The name of the third is not mentioned by Ibn Batūtah.

the Chinese empire.³⁷ No contemporary writer even casually suggests that the Sultan meditated the conquest of China. Even Nizam-al-Din, though he calls the expedition an absurd project, does not say that it was directed against China.³⁸ Firishta further adds that the Sultan wished to obtain the great wealth of the empire of China. It is true, that the condition of the Chinese empire at that time justifies such a view. The Mongol government after the death of Qubla Khan had degenerated. The patriotic Chinese detested foreign domination which rested upon brute force, and in the provinces of the empire a movement in favour of independence was clearly discernible. In 1329 A.D. when Ton Timour ascended the throne through the murder of his brother he found himself confronted with an extremely difficult situation. National risings occurred in the south-western provinces and these were followed by similar disorders in Yunān and the adjoining parts of Szchuen, where the rebels defied the existing authority, and drove away the Mughal troops who were sent to reduce them to order.³⁹ After Timour's death in 1332 A.D., when the sceptre passed to Toghan Timour who assumed the title of Shunti, the forces of disorder began to assert themselves with redoubled violence. Shunti was a cruel and whimsical despot, and during his reign the prestige of the Mongol government declined. In the second year of his reign, a famine occurred which swept away no less than 13 million human beings, and the sufferings of the people became unbearable. The decline of political power marched *pari passu* with the degradation of the character of the governing race, and the weak and vacillating emperor found it impossible to overcome the rooted antipathy of the natives to foreign rule. Such a disturbed state of the kingdom might have opened a fresh field of conquest to a warlike oriental monarch, but whether the Sultan of Hind could have at this time successfully planned an expedition against China, is more than

³⁷ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 135.

³⁸ Tabqāt, Cal. Text, p. 204.

و آخرین از اندیشمندی فاسد او این بود که خواست که که
هما چل را که ما بین ممالک هند و دیار چین حایل است ضبط نماید -

³⁹ There were rebellions at Cheng Chin in Kwantung and at Hoi Chau in Kwantung and in Honan. Severe penalties were inflicted upon the Chinese by the government. Howorth, History of the Mongols, Pt. I, p. 312.

problematical. After the fiasco of the Persian expedition Muhammad must have grown wiser, and prudence and policy alike dictated the abandonment of any such grandiose plan, if it was ever entertained. Besides, if the conquest of Persia was impossible, the conquest of China was far more so. Separated from India by an impassable barrier of huge mountains, which are for the most part of the year covered with snow, it was impossible for the invading army of Hindustan to maintain itself in that difficult country. Muhammad bin Bakhtiyar Khilji's precedent cannot be cited to prove the possibility of the Chinese conquest, for that was only an attempt to raid a distant portion of the empire. Probably, as Rennell says, he had not crossed the Assam valley, when he was forced to retire, and it was then that he realised the futility of his plan.⁴⁰ The real object of the expedition was to extend the sovereignty of D hli over a hill state and not to replenish, as Firishta says, the empty coffers of the state by robbing the great wealth of China. It was a necessary move. Muhammad had placed strong guards on the frontiers of his vast dominions ; towards the north-west Bahram Aiba had been defeated, and his attempt at independence foiled ; the governor of Bengal in the north-east was a feudatory of Dihli ; the south had been subdued, and the Sultan maintained a vigilant watch over the unruly chiefs and princes in that hostile country. But the northern frontier was not yet safe. The fort of Nagarkot had been reduced, and the Sultan wished to complete the line of his northern frontier by conquering the hill states which were independent or wavered in allegiance, and were not altogether unwilling to own the suzerainty of China.

Modern historians have stigmatised the attempt as a mad scheme without comprehending its real import.⁴¹ The disaster which befell the troops has blinded them to the urgency and importance of the measure. Suffering in such a climate was inevitable,

⁴⁰ Rennell, *Memoirs* (Introduction LIII).

⁴¹ Even the judicious Elphinstone was led to follow Firishta's error. He writes : " His next undertaking was to conquer China and fill his exhausted coffers with the plunder of that rich monarchy. With this view he sent an army of 100,000 men through the Himalaya mountains, but when the passage was effected, the Indians found a powerful Chinese army assembled on the frontier with which theirs reduced in numbers and exhausted by fatigue was unable to cope."

and in fairness to the Sultan, it must be said that he was powerless against nature. What was due to nature is unjustly ascribed to the Sultan. No writer except Ibn Batūtah has said anything about the results of this campaign, while others have contented themselves with a bare mention of the tragic calamity which befell the troops. But Ibn Batūtah clearly says that the object of the expedition was achieved, and the hill chieftain acknowledged the supremacy of Dihli.

An important act of Muhammad Tughluq's administration in which Ibn Batūtah was concerned was the dispatch of an embassy to China in 742 A.H. (1341 A.D.). Relations

Diplomatic relations with China, 742 A.H.

had existed between China and India for centuries in the past. When Buddhism was the prevailing religion in India, Chinese pilgrims and monks used to come in large numbers to visit the Buddhist shrines but such intercourse ceased with the decline of Buddhism in the tenth century A.D. No attempt was ever made by Hindu or Buddhist sovereigns to conquer the lands beyond the Himalayas, and the Indian empire even in the hey-day of its glory was confined to the limits of the Indian peninsula, though the lands beyond the Hindu Kush seem to have nominally acknowledged its sway. Later historians have written of the projected 'mad expedition' of Muhammad Tughluq to China noticed before, though no contemporary gives even the barest indication of such an enterprise. The continued intercourse of China with India has done not a little to mislead historians who have confounded an expedition against a hill chieftain with an attempt to invade the vast Mongol empire separated from Hindustan by the impassable barrier of the Himalayas. In the thirteenth century the Chinese soldiers enlisted themselves in the army of the king of Ceylon, and trade relations also existed between the two countries. The emperors of China often sent their officers to Ceylon to collect gems and pearls and drugs, and envoys were sent on one occasion 'to negotiate the purchase of the sacred alms-dish of Buddha.'⁴²

But there is no indication of warlike relations between the two countries through the long vista of centuries. On the contrary here is clear evidence to show that Muhammad's relations with China were of a definitely friendly character. Towards the close of Jamad-

⁴² Yule, Marco Polo, II, pp. 254, 259, 264.

al-Sani, 742 A.H. (December 1341 A.D.), the Mongol emperor Shunti or Toghan Timour sent an embassy to the court of Muhammad Tughluq to obtain permission to rebuild the Buddhist temples in the Qarachil or Himalaya mountain.⁴³ In this mountainous region there was a city, called Samhal by Ibn Batūtah, which the Chinese pilgrims used to visit. During the Qarajal or Qarachil expedition, of which mention has been made before, the Sultan's forces had devastated the place and its temples.⁴⁴ The Chinese mission brought valuable presents which consisted of 100 slaves, both male and female, 500 pieces of *Kinkhob* of which 100 were made of the fabric of *Zaytan* and 100 of *Khimsa*, five *mans* of musk, five robes studded with jewels, five quivers of cloth of gold and five swords. Muhammad Tughluq reciprocated the mission and selected Ibn Batūtah, who was at that time in Sindh as his envoy. Perhaps his choice was determined by the fact that Ibn Batūtah was a man who had considerable experience of travelling in foreign countries. He was to convey to the Chinese emperor the message that the reconstruction of the temples could not be permitted according to the laws of Islam unless he paid *Jeziya* or poll-tax which was enjoined on all non-believers, but if the emperor agreed to do so, permission would be granted. Ibn Batūtah gives a schedule of the presents which he carried to the Mongol emperor of Cathay.⁴⁵ These gifts far exceeded in value and magnificence those of the Chinese ruler, and consisted of 100 Hindu slaves, 100 slave girls, accomplished in song and dance, 100 pieces of a cotton fabric called *bairami* of matchless beauty priced at 100 *dinars* per piece; 100 pieces of silk called *juz* of variegated tints; 104 pieces of *Salahiyah* (صلاهية) 100 pieces of *Shīrinbāf*, 100 pieces of *Shanbāf*, 500 pieces of *muraz*, a kind of woollen fabric of various colours; 100 pieces of *Katan Rumi* (كتان رومي) 100 gowns without sleeves; a tent and six pavilions, four golden candle-sticks and four embroidered with silver, four gold basins and six of silver, and ten dresses of honour

⁴³ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 1.

The Khan exchanged embassies with the king of the Franks and the Pope. He sent an embassy to Avignon in 1333 A.D. consisting of Andrew Frank and 15 other persons.

Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, Pt. I, p. 314.

⁴⁴ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 2.

⁴⁵ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 2-4.

embroidered ; ten caps one of which was embroidered with jewels. 10 quivers one of which was studded with pearls, and 10 swords the scabbard of one of which was inlaid with pearls and jewels. 10 gloves embroidered with pearls and 15 young slaves.⁴⁶

Ibn Batūtah started on his voyage on Safar, 17, 743 A.H. (July 22, 1342 A.D.), an auspicious day according to Indian custom, and was accompanied by Amir Zahir-al-Din Zinjani, a man noted for his learning and the slave Kafur, Sharabdar (keeper of drinks) to the Sultan. The party was escorted to the sea by Amir Muhammad *harvi* at the head of one thousand horsemen, and was joined by the Chinese envoy Tursi with a hundred servants who formed his suite. After a long and adventurous journey Ibn Batūtah reached Khan Balaq, the capital of the Mongol Khans.⁴⁷ From China he came back to Kolam where he reached in the month of Ramzan, 747 A.H. Then he went to Calicut whence he intended to go to Dihli but did not do so for fear of the Sultan. Soon after he started on his homeward voyage and reached his native land towards the close of the year 755 A.H.

⁴⁶ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 295.

This is the modern Peking.

Ibn Batūtah writes that when he arrived at Khan Balāq the Khan had gone on an expedition against his rebellious cousin Firūz. He was overpowered by the latter who himself became Khan. Ibn Batūtah says, in this state of confusion he was advised by Shaikh Burhān-al-Din and others to leave the country.

⁴⁷ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 303-4.

CHAPTER V

DISORDERS OF THE REALM

The year 1335 A.D. marks the beginning of decline in the fortunes of Muhammad Tughluq. His policy was largely responsible for the rebellions that broke out in all parts of the empire. The failure of his administrative measures accompanied by a heavy financial loss made him unpopular, and did not a little to shake the foundations of his power. The drastic punishments which he inflicted upon his subjects, sorely tried by famine, gave a shock to the confidence which they had previously reposed in him. The provincial satraps, whose authority Muhammad had restricted within very narrow limits, tried to use the failures of their sovereign to their own advantage. Fully aware of the difficulties into which the Sultan had been plunged by his idealism, they began to organise their resources and make preparations for independence. The half-subdued and discontented men all over the empire profited by his misfortunes, and the *amirs Sadah* who had settled in the provinces did all they could to foster sedition and conspiracy against his authority. The jealousy that prevailed between the foreign and the native *amirs* greatly hampered the progress of orderly government. One thing remarkable throughout the history of the Muslim domination in India is the tendency to revolt on the part of the governors in the outlying provinces of the empire. These governors often acted as independent rulers, and in an age when the means of communication were far from adequate, and the highways mostly unsafe, the treasures of the state accumulated in the provinces, and furnished sinews of war to those who wished to shake off the yoke of the sovereign power. The two rebellions that occurred in the early part of the reign were ruthlessly put down, but the sentences which the Sultan inflicted upon the malefactors were seared upon the minds of other governors who trembled for their safety, and felt certain of their doom unless they stirred betimes to guard themselves against royal wrath. The disintegrating forces that lie beneath the surface in a feudal state began to operate, and derived fresh strength from every mistake of the Sultan. The 'infidel' majority that had acquiesced in Muslim domination simply because

Kaithali, the father of Malik Ibrahim, a feoffee of the Sultan, who was generally known as Hasan Kangu, and who eventually obtained the sovereignty of the Deccan with the title of 'Ala-al-Din Bahman Shah fomented a revolt in Ma'bar on the grounds of severity of the Sultan's governors, and the innovations introduced in the laws and the number of executions, and gained over to his own party nearly all the great men of Dihli who had been appointed to that district."⁵ Firishta who probably copies Badaoni assigns 742 A.H. as the date of the rebellion⁶ and this is accepted by the French translators of Ibn Batūtah⁷ and by Edward Thomas. Yule in his '*Cathay and the Way Thither*' accepts 1338-9 as the date of this rebellion.⁸ Hajji-ad-Dabir who follows Barani in this respect writes that the Sultan heard the news of the revolt of Sayyid Ahsan, while he was still in the neighbourhood of Kanauj.⁹ Barani who places the revolt after Fakhrā's rebellion corrects himself by saying that the Sultan heard the news while he was busy in the districts of Kanauj and Dalmau. The date of Indian historians is proved to be wrong by the testimony of Ibn Batūtah and the evidence of coins. Dr. Hultzsch who carefully examined the coins of the Sultans of Madura has come to the conclusion that Muhammad Tughluq's authority was recognised in the Deccan till 734 A.H.¹⁰ It is clear from the coins cited by him that they were issued by Muhammad, because they bear upon them the superscription *الامام العادل العادل* of which the emperor was so fond.¹¹ The first coin of Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah is dated 735 A.H. As to the identity of this coin (No. 4 in Dr. Hultzsch's collection plate opposite to page 680) there can be no doubt, for it bears the same superscription on it as is mentioned by Ibn Batūtah. Further, Ahsan Shah boasted of being a descendant of the Prophet, as the appellation Sayyid signifies, and the superscription contains the words Tāhā and Yāsīn, which occur also in Ibn Batūtah. Ibn Batūtah's testimony is reliable, because he had married Hoornasab,

⁵ Ranking, *Al-Badaoni*, I, p. 309.

⁶ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 137.

⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, Advertisement, p. XXI.

⁸ Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, Vol. IV, Series II, p. 34.

⁹ Sir Denison Ross's copy of the Arabic History of Gujarat, p. 864.

¹⁰ J.R.A.S., 1922, p. 344.

¹¹ J.R.A.S., 1909. pp. 667—83.

a daughter of the Sharif,¹² and must have been intimately acquainted with him. He started from Dihli on the 17th Safar, 743 A.H. (July 22, 1342 A.D.) and after having passed through many vicissitudes reached the Maldiv Islands, which he left on the 15th Rabi'-al-Sani, 745 A.H. (August 26, 1344 A.D.) for Ceylon from which place he went to Ma'bar. He must have reached Ma'bar sometime in 745 A.H. His account is as follows:—

“Ghiyas-al-Din Damghāni is the present ruler of Ma'bar. He was formerly employed in the service of Malik Mujir bin Abu Rajā, a trooper in the army of Muhammad Tughluq. Afterwards he entered the service of Amir Haji, son of Sultan Jalal-al-Din, and subsequently assumed kingship under the title of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din. Ma'bar was formerly included in the empire of Dihli, but my father-in-law Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah rebelled and ruled unmolested for five years. He was followed by 'Ala-al-Din Udaiji who after one year attacked a Hindu Raja and captured much booty. Next year, he led an expedition against the Hindus and defeated them, but he was himself killed by an arrow in the fight when he took off his helmet to drink water. He was succeeded by his son-in-law Qutb-al-Din, but the latter turned out a worthless man and was slain after 40 days. After him Ghiyas-al-Din became king.”¹³ This account is corroborated by numismatic evidence. We have coins of 'Ala-al-Din Udaiji Shah dated 740 A.H., of Qutb-al-Din Firuz Shah dated 740 A.H. and of Ghiyas-al-Din Damghān Shah dated 741 A.H. and of his successor Nāsir-al-Din Mahmud Ghazi Damghān Shah dated 745 A.H. Ibn Batūtah's order and chronology are completely confirmed. If we accept 741 A.H. as the date of Ahsan Shah's rebellion, Ghiyas-al-Din Damghān Shah would come to the throne after nearly seven years that is in 747-48 A.H. which is not the case, for Ibn Batūtah found him ruling in Madura in 745 A.H. and stayed at his court for sometime.¹⁴ Besides, Dr. Hultsch has a coin of Ghiyas-al-Din Damghān Shah which is dated 741 A.H. The name of the Sultan and the year of issue, 741 A.H. are legibly

¹² Of this woman Ibn Batūtah writes:—

“She was a pious woman who kept awake the whole night and remained busy in reading prayers. She bore me a daughter, but I do not know what has become of both of them. This wife (of mine) could read, but she did not know how to write.” III, pp. 337-38.

¹³ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 337-38.

¹⁴ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 189-90.

inscribed on the coin. Ahsan Shah must have proclaimed his independence early in 735 A.H., for Ibn Batūtah says that on hearing the news of this revolt the Sultan started for Ma'bar on the 9th Jamad-al-awwal (he does not give the year).¹⁵ The date 735 A.H. is further supported by the evidence of inscriptions. There is an inscription at Panaiyur in the Tirumeyyam Taluk of the Pudukotta state which refers to the ninth year of "Muhammadi Sultan" (Sultan Muhammad). This would mean that in 1334 A.D. reckoning from 725 A.H. (1325 A.D.) the date of Muhammad's accession to the throne, the authority of Muhammad was recognised in the south.¹⁶

The rebellion was caused by the Sultan's embarrassments in Northern India, and Ahsan Shah seems to have been convinced of the possibility of establishing his own independent power without opposition.¹⁷ The long distance of his province from Dihli, the large extent of the territory over which he ruled, and the disturbed condition of the northern part of the kingdom favoured his designs. When the Sultan heard of the revolt, he started from Dihli and stayed for eight days in a palace called '*Kushk-i-Zar*', or golden palace not far from Dihli in order to collect supplies and provisions. Khwajah Jahan had preceded the Sultan, but when he reached Dhar and stopped there, his spirited nephew (sister's son) with four or five nobles, who had been arrested a short time before, made a conspiracy to take the life of the Wazir on Friday at the time of prayer. They determined to seize the royal treasure and then decamp to the rebellious governor of Ma'bar. When the plot was ripe, one of the conspirators whose name was Malik Nusrat Hajib informed the Wazir of the murderous intent of his nephew. Apprised of the danger, Khwajah Jahan called the conspirators, and a search of their persons revealed that they wore helmets under their cloaks.

¹⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 427.

This date corresponds to January 5, 1335 A.D. The revolt must have occurred sometime in 1334 A.D.

¹⁶ Another inscription from Rangiyam (Rajasingamangalam) in the Tirumeyyam Taluk in the Pudukotta state refers to the year 732 A.H., of the Ādi Surattān. This shows that in this year at any rate Muhammad's authority was recognised.

¹⁷ According to Ibn Batūtah, Ahsan Shah rebelled, proclaimed his independence, and issued coins in his own name. On one side of his *dinar* were inscribed the words 'Descendant of the Prophet and the parent of the mendicants and the poor' and on the other 'Ahsan Shah Sultan, the depender upon God's help,' III, pp. 328-29.

The Wazir forwarded them to the king for proper punishment. They were brought into the royal presence, and Ibn Batūtah saw one of these culprits with a long beard trembling with fear and reciting a chapter from the Quran. The Sultan sent the culprits back to the Wazir with the command that they should be beheaded and thrown before the elephants. The unhappy victims were torn into pieces by the elephants, who had their tusks covered with sharp blades of iron, and when they were dead, their skin was stuffed with bran. After the suppression of this conspiracy, Khwajah Jahan returned to Dihli, and began to make preparations for the suppression of another revolt which had just broken out at Multan and Lahore. Dihli was in a deplorable condition owing to famine and high prices of grain, and lawlessness prevailed even in the vicinity of the capital. When the Sultan reached Daulatabad, he demanded large contributions from Muslim chiefs and tax-collectors with the result that those who were unable to comply with the exorbitant royal demands committed suicide to escape punishment. A new scheme of taxation was devised, and fresh imposts of a heavy nature were levied upon the people, and officers were appointed to realise them with great severity. Having thus settled the territories of Devagiri, the Sultan proceeded to Warangal, but an epidemic broke out in the royal camp, and most of the soldiers, amirs, and slaves were carried off by it. Malik Daulat Shah and Amir 'Abdullah Harvi were among the victims of the fell disease. The expedition against Ahsan Shah was abandoned under the pressure of unforeseen circumstances, and the Sultan returned to Daulatabad. On his return journey he suffered from a violent toothache at Bir and lost one of his teeth which was solemnly entombed in the midst of great pomp and ceremony, and a large mausoleum still known as the 'dome of tooth' was erected over it to proclaim to the world the peculiar character of its builder.¹⁸ Malik Maqbūl was appointed governor of Telingana, and Shihāb Sultani on whom was conferred the title of Nusrat Khan was entrusted with the fief of Bidar and the adjoining territories, yielding a revenue of ten million

¹⁸ Firishta, Lucknow text. p. 137. Briggs I, p. 424. Annual Report of the Archæological Dept. of the Nizam's dominions 1920-21, Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, p. 14. Bir is in the Nizam's dominions. It is at a distance of 75 miles north-west of Hyderabad. The tradition of the burial of the royal tooth still survives at Bir and a small tower built along a mountain track 88 miles S.E.S., of the town is pointed out as the tomb of the tooth.

tanqahs.¹⁹ Qutlugh Khan, the Sultan's tutor, a man of great integrity, was placed in charge of Devagiri and the Sultan, who was still ailing, proceeded towards the capital. On this occasion he permitted the inhabitants of Dihli, who had stayed in Devagiri to go back to Dihli, if they felt inclined to do so. Barani writes that two or three caravans were formed which returned to Dihli, and those with whom the climate of the Maratha country agreed, permanently settled there with their families. Firishta's statement that many thousands made the attempt, but several of them perished in the way owing to famine which then desolated the country of Malwa and Chanderi is not supported by Barani who is certainly more correct when he says that the Sultan accorded a general permission to go to Dihli.²⁰ Some returned to their old homes, while others preferred to remain at Devagiri.

The absence of the Sultan from the headquarters and the prevalence of rebellion in the south encouraged designing persons in the north to revolt against his authority and
 Rebellion of Halājūn. Amir Halājūn raised the standard of rebellion in Lahore, killed Malik Tatar, the fief holder of Lahore and declared his independence. The date of the rebellion 743 A.H. (1342 A.D.) given by both Firishta and Badaoni is incorrect, for according to Barani and Ibn Batūtah it broke out shortly after the Sultan had left for Ma'bar. Barani summarily disposes of the rebellion in a few lines and says, "Ahmad Ayaz returned to Dihli, but when he arrived there, he found that a rebellion had broken out at Lahore and that was suppressed by Ahmad Ayaz Khwajah Jahan."²¹ The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* who is corroborated by a contemporary writer like Ibn Batūtah and followed by later writers like Badaoni and Firishta writes: "In 743 A.H. (1342 A.D.) Kulchand and Halājūn broke out into revolt and

¹⁹ Elliot has not correctly translated this passage, III, p. 244. Barani's text *امدی لکھ* i.e., a hundred lakhs of *tanqahs*. Nizam-al-Din, Badaoni, and Firishta have followed Barani. One crore seems to be too high a figure for the fief of Bidar, Calcutta Text, p. 481.

²⁰ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 481.

Firishta says, thousands made the attempt but many of them perished on the way owing to famine which then desolated the country of Malwa and Chanderi. Barani is certainly more correct when he says that two or three caravans were formed which returned to Dihli but those who liked the Maratha country stayed there.

²¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 481.

slew Malik Tatar Khurd,²² the Jagirdar of Lahore. Khwajah Jahan was appointed to quell the revolt and he proceeded to the scene of action. Malik Halājūn and Kulchand Khokhar appeared in the field to oppose him, but they were defeated. Having suppressed the rebellion, Khwajah Jahan returned to Dihli.²³ Badaoni follows the above, though Ranking has mistranslated the passage in the text which runs thus:

در سنه ۷۴۳ ملک حلاجون و کلچند کهوکهہر ملک تاتار
حاکم لاہور را بغدر کشتند

Ranking renders it thus: "And in the year 743 A.H. they put to death treacherously Malik Halājūn, Gulchandar Khakhar and Malik Tatar Khurd, the governor of Lahore, and when Khwajah Jahan came up against them, they came out to do battle with him, but the scoundrels suffered a severe defeat and were sorely punished."²⁴ This is not in agreement with the text. Firishta's account is less complete than that of Yahya and Badaoni. He writes: "In the year 743 A.H. Malik Chandar (Malik Haidar of Briggs) the chief of the Gakkars, rebelled and slew Tatar Khan, the viceroy of Lahore. Khwajah Jahan was sent against the rebels and he utterly defeated them."²⁵ Firishta makes two mistakes. He describes Malik Chandar as Chief of the Gakkars which is wrong, and gives unnecessary prominence to him, though he was only an abettor of the rebellion. Ibn Batūtah is our best authority for this rebellion. He was in Dihli, when the rebellion broke out, and says that his companions accompanied Khwajah Jahan to Lahore when he went there to suppress the rebellion.²⁶ Besides, he is substantially

²² The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* has given a wrong description of the governor of Lahore. In Barani's long list of the scions of the royal family and officers (Calcutta Text, pp. 454-55) there are two persons—one is styled Tatar Khan, the elder (*buzurg*) and the other is Tartar, the adopted son of Sultan Tughluq Shah. The former was the governor of Lahore and the latter held charge of Eastern Bengal at this time.

²³ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* MS.

²⁴ Ranking, *Al-Badaoni* I, p. 309.

²⁵ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 137. Firishta writes:

ملک چندر کہ سردار کہہکران بود علم مخالفت بلند ساخته
حاکم ملک تاتار خان را بقتل رسانید -

²⁶ Ibn Batūtah III, p. 332.

corroborated by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* who wrote before Badaoni and Firishta.

It is clear that Halājūn was aided by the Khokhar chief, Kulchand²⁷ whom he elevated to the rank of Wazir. Khwajah Jahan marched at the head of a force which consisted of natives and Khorasanis. The Sultan also sent from the Deccan two powerful amirs, Malik Qairan Safdar and Malik Timur, keeper of drinks (sharabdar) to reinforce him. Halājūn, undismayed by the advance of the royal army, came out to oppose it and gave battle. Khwajah Jahan entered the city in triumph and slew some of the citizens, while others were flayed alive. This duty was entrusted to Muhammad bin Najīb, naib Wazir,²⁸ who was a pitiless tyrant. About three hundred women of the rebels were taken captive, and sent to the fort of Gwalior where they were seen by Ibn Batūtah.²⁹

The misfortune which befell the royal camp in Telingana had a serious effect on the public mind, and the news of the king's illness spread like wild fire all over the country.

Rebellion of Malik Hushang, 736 A.H. Mischievous persons started a rumour, as their like had done in the previous reign when Muhammad Tughluq led an attack against Warangal, that the Sultan was dead. Malik Hushang, son of Kamal-al-Din Garg, governor of Daulatabad, misled by his ambition, rebelled and fled to the country of Raja Barbāra, which was situated between Daulatabad and Kokan thana.³⁰ The above account of Ibn Batūtah is corroborated by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who says that on hearing the rumour about the king's death, Malik

²⁷ In the Arabic Text of Ibn Batūtah (III, p. 332) the name of the Khokhar chieftain is Amir Quljand, the same as Kulchand of Yahya and Badaoni.

²⁸ According to Ibn Batūtah Malik Najīb was a monster of cruelty. The king used to call him the "lion of the market." He used to bite the culprits with his teeth. Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 333.

²⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 332.

³⁰ The western coast is divided into two parts. The northern is called Konkan and the Southern Malabar. The districts of Thana, Ratnagiri, Kolaba and the states of Sāwant bāri and Janjirah and the cities of Goa and Bombay are included in it. The extent of this tract is 330 miles in length and its breadth is from 50 to 25 miles. Thana is a city 20 miles from Bombay and was formerly the capital of Konkan. Abu Rihān Biruni who came with Mahmud of Ghazni writes it as the capital of the Konkan. Rashid-al-Din writes it as Konkan Thana. Abul Feda speaks of it as a large town. In Marco Polo's time a Hindu chief lived there, but afterwards his possessions were annexed to the empire of Dihli by Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah in 1318 A.D.

Hushang rebelled and concealed himself in Madhera,³¹ but he submitted when he was convinced of the falseness of the report, and the Sultan pardoned him.³² Barani is silent about this rebellion, and so are Nizam-al-Din, Bada'uni and Firishta. The Hindu chief gave shelter to the rebel and prepared himself for the fate, which had previously overtaken the Raja of Kampil during the rebellion of Baha-al-Din Gashtasp. The refusal of the Hindu Prince to surrender the culprit made the Sultan furious, and he pressed hard. Frightened by the stern attitude of the Sultan, the rebel opened negotiations and promised to go to Qutlugh Khan, if the Sultan withdrew to Daulatabad. Qutlugh Khan had promised that his life would be spared, if he surrendered and begged royal forgiveness. The minister was a man of his word. Malik Hushang with his family, comrades and goods placed himself at the mercy of the Sultan who was much pleased with this act of penitence, and with a magnanimity which is difficult to reconcile with his general policy in such matters, he forgave him and conferred upon him robes of honour. The Sultan returned to Dihli where he reached in the first week of July 1337 A.D.³³

This rebellion also occurred during the Sultan's absence in the southern country. Barani's account is provokingly brief. He writes: "When Ahsan Shah revolted in Ma'bar, Sayyid Ibrahim's rebellion. the Sultan seized his son Ibrahim, Kharitadar with his family and relatives."³⁴ But Ibn Batūtah who was related to the rebel comes to our aid and furnishes more

³¹ Madhera or Madheera is a town in the state of Haiderabad, 129 miles East from Haiderabad and 96 miles North-West from Masulipatam. It lies in Lat. 16° 57' and Long. 80° 26'. Thornton, Gaz., III, p. 531.

³² *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS.

³³ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 338.

³⁴ Elliot translates Kharitadar into purse-bearer. This officer used to keep the king's pen and paper. Barani writes:—

واین خبر بسلطان رسید ابراهیم خریطه دار را و اقرباء او را
بگرفتند و سلطان محمد در شهر آمد -

Calcutta Text, p. 480.

From Barani's Text it appears that the Sultan before his return to Dihli from Kanaul seized Ibrahim with his relations. Hājji-ad-Dabir writes that having heard the news of Ahsan Shah's revolt the Sultan returned to Dihli and interned Ibrahim and his kinsmen. This is slightly different from Barani. Barani has made some confusion. If, as he says, Ibrahim had been seized or interned, how could he detain Zia-al-Mulk on his way to Dihli? It is certain that Ibrahim was punished by the Sultan after his return from the Deccan.

details about his hostile plans.³⁵ According to him Ibrahim, who was governor of Sirsuti and Hansi aimed at independent power, when he heard of the rebellion of his father, Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah of Ma'bar and of the death of the Sultan in the Deccan. For a handsome, high-spirited, and generous man like him, it was no strange ambition. Just at this time Zia-al-Mulk bin Shams-al-Mulk was escorting the royal treasure through his fief from Sindh to Dihli. Ibrahim told him that he was likely to be plundered by thieves on the way, and that it would be politic to stay with him for sometime. Obviously his motive was to appropriate the whole treasure, when the news of the Sultan's death was confirmed. The amir was allowed to proceed when the rumour turned out to be entirely baseless. But one of the slaves of Zia-al-Mulk informed the Sultan of Ibrahim's misconduct, when the latter paid a visit to the capital. Though the Sultan was well-disposed towards him, he could not condone such an offence in the interests of the state. Ibrahim confessed his guilt, and the Sultan ordered him to be cut into two by the executioners. This must have been sometime after the Sultan's return from the Deccan. The dead body of the deceased was interred by his relatives in the stealthy manner which was usually followed when a criminal was slain by royal command.

As has been previously said Ghiyās-al-Din Bahadur was reinstated in the government of Bengal by Muhammad Tughluq soon after his accession to the throne. But Bahadur who was an ambitious man, once more allowed himself to be led astray by evil counsels, and rebelled about the year 730 A.H.³⁶ According to Ibn Batūtah one of the conditions of his restoration was that he would send his son Muhammad-al-Manshur as a hostage to Dihli, but Bahadur excused himself on the ground that his son did not obey him.³⁷ This act of contumacy enraged the Sultan who sent his

Rebellion
Fakhr-al-Din
Bengal,

o f
in

³⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 337-38.

³⁶ His latest coins are dated 730 A.H. and 731 A.H.

J. A. S. B., 1908, p. 203.

J. R. A. S., II, p. 197.

J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 83.

J. A. S. B., Numismatic Supplement XVI, pp. 699-700.

J. A. S. B., Numismatic Supplement XXXV, pp. 152-53.

Lane-Poole, The coins of the Muhammadan states of India in the British Museum, p. 11.

³⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 317.

does the same, and accepts 739 A.H. as the date of rebellion.⁴⁴ A careful examination of the coins shows that the date is 737 and not 739 A.H. The date on the coin is on the margin in Arabic figures and Blochmann and Sir Wolseley have, it seems to me, read ٧٣٩ for ٧٣٧ which alters the date by two years. If it were ٧٣٧ and not ٧٣٩ the letter ٧ would have been slightly bulging upwards and would not have been joined to the letter preceding it in the manner in which it is joined.⁴⁵ On a large number of coins issued from the mints in Bengal and other parts of India in the 14th century A.D. the word سبع is written as سبع and not as سبع . Secondly, after the letter س the mark of ب is quite clear on the coin. What Blochmann and Sir Wolseley read as ت is not ت but س and therefore the date seems to be 737 and not 739 A.H. There is yet another piece of evidence which supports 737 A.H. The Sultan returned to Dihli from the Deccan sometime in July 1337 after nearly two years. After his return he was too much occupied with affairs in Hindustan to deal effectively with the rebellion in Bengal. Ibn Batūtah who was present in Dihli says nothing about it. Barani says that during the interval when the Sultan stayed at Dihli and his migration to Saragdwari which occurred in 739 A.H. four rebellions broke out which were quickly suppressed. These four rebellions were of Nizam Ma'in at Kara, Nusrat Khan at Bidar, 'Ali Shah at Kulburga and 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers at Saragdwari. He does not mention among these the rebellion of Fakhr-al-Din. This is not conclusive evidence, but it throws a doubt over the date 739 A.H. It appears from Barani's

⁴⁴ Blochmann's article in the J. A. S. B., 1873, p. 252 and 1874, p. 291. Sir Wolseley Haig's article on "Five questions in the history of the Tughluq dynasty of Dihli" in the J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 349.

⁴⁵ Thomas, The Initial Coinage of Bengal.

J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVI, Pt. I, p. 52 and Plate I, Figure 7. For further reference the following may be consulted:—

Man Mohan Chakravarti's article on Bengal in the J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 203.

Thomas, The Chronicles, p. 263

Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, IV, p. 86. Yule does not investigate the date. He simply says Fakhr-al-Din declared his independence either in 737 or 739 A.H.

N. K. Bhattāsālī, Coins and Chronology of the Early Independent Sultans of Bengal, pp. 9—14.

Mr. Bhattāsālī is inclined to agree with Blochmann but does not give any cogent reason in support of his statement.

narrative and the testimony of the coins that Fakhr-al-Din declared his independence early in 737 A.H.

Barani's account of the rebellion is very brief. According to him after the death of Bahram Khan, governor of Sonargaon, the army became mutinous, killed Qadar Khan and destroyed his family and his goods. The treasures of Lakhnauti were seized by the rebels who took possession of that place and of Satgaon and Sonargaon.⁶⁵ The author of the *Tarīkh-i-Mubarrak Shāhi* who wrote after Barani gives a more detailed account of the affairs in Bengal, and he is copied by Badaoni. The story of this rebellion is as follows: "After the death of Bahram Khan at Sonargaon, Malik Fakhr-al-Din, his armour-bearer, rebelled and became king. Having heard of this revolt, Malik Bidar or Pindar Khilji Qadar Khan who was governor of Lakhnauti sent Malik Husam-al-Din Abu Rajā muscufi mamālīq, 'Iz-al-Din Yahya A'zam-al-mulk, governor of Satgaon and Firuz Khan, son of Nusrat Khan, amir of Kara against Fakhr-al-Din. The latter offered resistance, but seeing the heavy odds arrayed against him, he fled from the field of battle, leaving his entire baggage to be captured by the enemy. Qadar Khan thus became master of Sonargaon, but Fakhr-al-Din was not the man to rest in silence. Having made his preparations, he marched against his rival again, and on this occasion he was helped by the discontent that prevailed in Qadar Khan's army." According to the author of the *Tarīkh-i-Mubarrak Shāhi* Qadar Khan had hoarded plenty of silver tankas in the hope of placing a large heap of them before the august throne of Dihli, in spite of the remonstrances of Malik Husam-al-Din, who always asked him to send the treasures of the state to the capital. Qadar Khan paid no heed to the Malik's counsel, and his niggardliness led to serious developments. Discontent spread among the troops, when he deprived them of their legitimate share in the spoils of war. Fakhr-al-Din appeared at this favourable moment and seduced Qadar Khan's troops. The latter conspired against their chief and slew him and Fakhr-al-Din again became master of Sonargaon. Then he sent his slave Mukhlis against Lakhnauti, but he was opposed by Qadar Khan's 'Ariz, 'Ali Mubarak, who defeated and slew him. Ranking has mistranslated the passage in Badaoni's text which is a paraphrase of Yahya's

⁶⁵ Barani, *Calcutta Text*, p. 487.

narrative.⁴⁷ 'Ali Mubarak informed the Sultan at Dihli of what had happened. The Sultan sent Yusuf, the *Shahnāh* of the capital, who was raised to the rank of Khan, but he died shortly afterwards. The Sultan was so busy with troubles in Hindustan that he could not send a fresh army to the help of 'Ali Mubarak. Pressed hard by the exigencies of the situation, 'Ali Mubarak assumed the honours of royalty under the title of 'Ala-al-Din. Ibn Batūtah is not very clear about the history of Bengal, and he concludes his account by saying that 'Ali Shah established himself as king at Lakhnauti and wars were frequently waged between 'Ali Shah and Fakhr-al-Din. The rivalry between 'Ali Shah and Fakhr-al-Din lasted for sometime. Fakhr-al-Din led an attack against Lakhnauti in the rainy season, for his naval strength was superior to that of 'Ali Shah. The latter who possessed better land forces retaliated with equal vigour, and this mutual warfare continued. During one of these campaigns a certain Sufi, Shaida by name, who had been appointed governor of Satgaon—a fact which is corroborated by Barani who says that Satgaon had also fallen into Fakhr's hands, rebelled and killed the only son of Fakhr-al-Din. Shaida fled towards Sonargaon where he was captured by the people who made him over to the royal army. By the orders of the Sultan (Fakhr-al-Din) he was beheaded, and many of his associates were slain.

Fakhr-al-Din is described by Ibn Batūtah as a learned ruler "fond of the company of saints, foreigners, and men of learning." The 14th century was a period of great religious revival in Bengal and tradition affirms that in Sonargaon alone there were 150 *gaddis* of saints.⁴⁸ The large number of religious saints was probably due

⁴⁷ This is Ranking's translation :

"The absolute control of Sonargaon was given him (Fakhr-al-Din); he appointed one Mukhlis, a servant of his, to Lakhnauti and 'Ali Mubarak, inspector of troops; Qadar Khan put Mukhlis to death and aspired at independence writing diplomatic letters to the court of the Sultan."

This is not in agreement with the text which has :

"The government of Sonargaon passed into his hands and he appointed Mukhlis, his slave to Lakhnauti. 'Ali Mubarak, the *'ariz* of Qadar Khan's troops put to death Mukhlis and sent peaceful representations to the Sultan."

It appears from the narrative of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* that Qadar Khan had remained at Sonargaon after the defeat and flight of Fakhrā. It was there that Fakhr-al-Din appeared and won over the army.

⁴⁸ J. A. S. B., 1874, p. 85.

to the profuse liberality of Fakhr-al-Din.⁴⁹ Under his rule the province of Bengal became rich and prosperous, and the people led easy and comfortable lives.⁵⁰ But the climate was malarious, and for this reason the people of Khorasan called it a 'hell crammed with good things.'

It is difficult to assign a definite date to Fakhr-al-Din's death. That he lived up to 750 A.H. is established beyond doubt by numismatic evidence and up to 754 by the testimony of Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif who is a contemporary writer. In the coins of the Shillong cabinet there are two coins of Mubarak Shah issued from Sonargaon and are clearly dated 750 A.H. 'Afif writes in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* that after Firuz's expedition to Bengal (754 A.H.=1354) Shams-al-Din seized Fakhr-al-Din who was commonly called Fakhrā and killed him.⁵¹ Badaoni's statement that in 741 A.H. Sultan Muhammad marched against Sonargaon, seized Fakhr-al-Din, and brought him a prisoner to Lakhnauti, where he put him to death and returned is incorrect.⁵² The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* whom Badaoni faithfully copies writes that in 741 A.H. Haji Ilyas who had

⁴⁹ J. A. S. B., 1909, p. 226.

Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 212-13

⁵⁰ Ibn Batūtah who visited Bengal in 1346 A.D. on his return from China describes Bengal as a vast country where rice is produced in abundance and where prices are cheap. The traveller was informed by Muhammad Ma'sūd that he could buy provision for himself, wife and servant, for a year for eight *dirhams*. They could buy 80 *ritals* of husked rice of Dihli which yielded 50 *ritals* of rice after being thrashed for eight *dirhams*. The prices of provisions were as follows:—

Ghī	...	...	...	1 rital	4 dirhams.
Sugar	...	...	...	"	4 ..
Rose	...	...	...	"	8 ..
Sesamum oil	...	...	...	"	2 ..
30 Yards of cloth	...	...	...		2 dinārs.

Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 210—12.

The slaves were very cheap and so were the cattle. A milch cow could be had for 3 *dinārs*. Good fat hens could be had eight for a *dirham* and 15 pigeons for a *dirham*, a fat ram for two *dirhams*.

A beautiful slave girl could be purchased for one *dinār* of gold which is equal to 2½ *dinārs* of the west. Ibn Batūtah purchased a maid-servant named 'Ashurah and a companion of his purchased a young slave whose name was Lūlū for 2 *dinārs*.

⁵¹ 'Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Calcutta Text, pp. 137-38.

⁵² Ranking, Al-Badāoni, I, p. 309.

become king under the title of Shams-al-Dīn, proceeded towards Sonargaon, and seized Fakhr-al-Din alive and after some time killed him at Lakhnauti.⁵³ After this Lakhnauti remained for a long time in the possession of Shams-al-Din and his descendants, and the Sultan of Dihli had no control over it. The date 741 is obviously incorrect. It seems probable that either Badaoni himself in copying the *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shahi* or some scribe who copied his *Muntaẓhab-ut-tawarīkh* wrote Sultan Muhammad instead of Shams-al-Din. It is impossible to accept Badaoni's date in view of the evidence of coins and of Ibn Batūtah who found Fakhr-al-Din ruling in Bengal in 746 A.H., and his account is too detailed to be inaccurate.

A difficulty is presented by the fact that there are coins of one Ikhtiyar-al-Din Ghazi Shah struck at Sonargaon in 751—53 A.H., and he is described as Sultan bin Sultan.⁵⁴ No historian has pointed out his relationship to Fakhr-al-Din, but the presumption is that there was a close connection between the two kings. The evidence of the coins is against Ibn Batūtah who says that the only son of Fakhr-al-Din was killed by Shaida, but Ibn Batūtah may have been mistaken in describing the deceased as his only son. The fact that Ikhtiyar-al-Din Ghazi Shah issued coins from Sonargaon shows that he had established an independent kingdom in a part of Sonargaon. This he may have done during Fakhr-al-Din's life-time.

When the Sultan returned from the Deccan, he found a dreadful famine raging in the Doab. The cultivating classes gave up all hope, and thousands perished helplessly for want of food. The scarcity of fodder was still more serious, and the cattle died in large numbers.

Barani writes that the price of grain rose abnormally high from 16 to 17 *jitals* per sir, and death and starvation threatened the people on all sides. To encourage cultivation the Sultan made advances from the public treasury, but all these efforts proved of no avail. Death took a dreadful toll of human life, and tried by famine beyond the point of endurance, the population patiently resigned itself to adverse fate. Barani writes: "The Sultan tried to promote cultivation and caused wells to be dug, but

⁵³ *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shahi* MS.

⁵⁴ Thomas, The initial coinage of Bengal.

J. A. S. B., Vol. XXXVI, Pt. I, pp. 54-55.

Thomas, The Chronicles, p. 266.

Nelson Wright, Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum of Calcutta, Vol. II, Pt. II, 149, No. 21.

of Saragdwāri which literally means the 'gate of heaven.' Probably this high-sounding name was given to the new city, because the people prized it no less than heaven at this critical period, when food and fodder were so scarce elsewhere. As the thatched cottages often caught fire, the people dug holes in the ground, as the gipsy tribes still do in India, in which they deposited all their goods and covered them with sand. To the west of the Ganges the whole country was rendered desolate by famine, but towards the east there was plenty of cultivated land. From the territories of Oudh and Zafrabad, the most fertile provinces in the Doab, the local governor, 'Ain-al-Mulk supplied grain worth 70 to 80 lakhs of *tankahs* to relieve distress. The price of grain became comparatively cheaper, and every day 'Ain-al-Mulk sent to the royal camp 50 thousand *mans* of wheat, rice and grain for the cattle.

It is difficult to determine with exactitude the date of this rebellion. There is no doubt that it occurred sometime between 737 and 738 A.H. prior to the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani and the royal migration to Saragdwāri.

Revolt of Nizam
Ma'in at Kara.

The date of this rebellion 745 A.H. (1345 A.D.) given by the author of the *Tariḳh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and copied by Badaoni and Firishta is incorrect.⁶² The author of the *Tariḳh-i-Mubarak Shahi* slightly differing from Barani writes that the rebellion was suppressed by Shahrullah, brother of 'Ain-al-Mulk, the governor of Oudh, while Firishta says that 'Ain-al-Mulk himself raised forces, defeated him, and sent his head to court. Barani corroborates the details to some

Shamsabad stands on the old cliff of the Ganges 18 miles North-West of Fatehgarh in 27° 32' N. and 79° 28' E. It is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as the headquarters of a *pargana* and the site of a fort on the banks of the Ganges.

District Gaz., Farrukhabad, p. 255.

Some Kānyakubja Brahmans in the United Provinces still call themselves *Khor ke pānde* [pāndes (Brahmans) of Khor] and consider themselves as superior to others.

The author of the *Tariḳh-i-Mubarak Shahi* who wrote in the 15th century makes mention of this town which shows that it existed in his time. He writes that Tāj-al-mulk when he went into the Doab to suppress the infidels of Khor crossed the Ganges at the ford of Saragdwāri.

⁶² Sir Wolseley Haig accepts 745 A.H. as the date of this rebellion which is inadmissible in view of Barani's statement that it occurred during the interval when the king was at Dihli, and then at Saragdwāri and that it was suppressed by 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers. The Sultan had left Saragdwāri in 741 A.H.

J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 353.

extent though he gives no date. According to him during the interval when the Sultan was staying at Dihli and then at Saragdwāri, four revolts broke out, which were quickly suppressed.⁶³ These were of (1) Nizam Ma'in at Kara, (2) Nusrat Khan at Bidar, (3) 'Ali Shah at Kulbarga, (4) and 'Ain-al-Mulk in Oudh. He says the first of these was put down by 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers, which makes it clear that the revolt must have occurred prior to the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk, the date of which is 740-41 A.H. Again, Barani clearly states that (1) before the Sultan could send a force, 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers marched with their troops upon Kara, defeated the rebel, and sent him to the capital, (2) and that the rebel was after being flayed sent to the capital, (3) and that the Shaikhzadah was sent from Dihli to govern the province of Kara. It is clear from this that when the revolt broke out, the Sultan was at Dihli, and had not migrated to Saragdwāri. That the revolt occurred before 740-41 A.H. admits of no doubt, for the very fact of its suppression by 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers, agreed to by all historians, proves that it must have occurred while the *malikhs* were still loyal to the Sultan.

Nizam Ma'in, an opium-eating manikin of low origin, had obtained the fief of Kara for several lakhs of *tankahs*. But as he had no means or position in society, he could not realise even a tenth part of the sum which he had stipulated to pay by executing a bond or *khat*. Barani writes that he purchased a few opium-eating *paikhs* and with their assistance raised the standard of revolt and assumed the title of Sultan 'Ala-al-Din. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* also states that he was instigated to do so by certain malcontents among the slaves. Before the Sultan could despatch forces, 'Ain-al-mulk and his brothers advanced upon Kara and suppressed the revolt. The rebel was flayed and sent to the capital. Shaikh Zādah Bustāmi,⁶⁴ son-in-law of the Sultan's sister, was sent from

⁶³ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 487.

⁶⁴ Shaikh Zādah Bustāmi is described by Barani as داماد خواهرین سلطان محمد which means the son-in-law of the Sultan's sister, and not the husband of the Sultan's sister as Maulvi 'Abdul Wāli translates it. Sir Wolseley Haig calls him sister's son to the emperor which is not in agreement with the text.

Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 488.

J. A. S. B., 1923, p. 259.

Sir Wolseley Haig's article in the J. R. A. S., 1922, p. 353.

Dihli to govern in his place. He was ordered to inflict condign punishments upon the malefactors who had taken part in the insurrection, but he failed to do so.

It appears from the narrative of Barani and Ibn Batūtah that this rebellion occurred before that of 'Ain-al-Mulk. He was appointed to the fief of Bidar, when the Sultan had gone to the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah, and when he was obliged to stay at Devagiri, after having returned from Warangal on account of plague. The Sultan was in the Deccan during the years 735—37 A.H. for about two and a half years. Nusrat Khan was appointed to his office sometime in 736 A.H. Barani says that he remained in office for three years from which we may conclude that the rebellion must have occurred sometime in 739-40 A.H. That the rebellion must have occurred not later than 740-41 A.H. is beyond doubt. Barani clearly places it before the rebellion of 'Ain-al-Mulk and Ibn Batūtah says that after the Sultan's return from Saragdwāri in 741 A.H., Nusrat Khan and 'Ain-al-Mulk both were pardoned and admitted to royal favour. Ibn Batūtah has made some confusion in giving an account of this rebellion. He writes: 'when the king returned from Telingana and the rumour of his death began to spread, Taj-al-mulk Nusrat Khan Turk, who was governor of Telingana, and was one of the old courtiers of the king rebelled on hearing of the report.'⁶⁵ This is incorrect. Ibn Batūtah himself says in describing the Sultan's visit to the shrine of Salar Mas'ud at Bahraich that Nusrat was pardoned with 'Ain-al-Mulk in 741 A.H.⁶⁶ If Nusrat rebelled, when the Sultan was in the Deccan, how is it that he was pardoned after nearly four years? Again, this is in conflict with Barani's statement that he held office for three years.

The date 745 A.H. given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and copied by Badaoni and Firishta is incorrect for the reasons mentioned above.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 340-41.

⁶⁶ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 357.

⁶⁷ Sir Wolseley places the revolt of Nusrat just after that of Ibrahim Kharitādār. This suggests a date which would be too early by three years. Nusrat did not rebel when the Sultan was in the Deccan. If we accept Barani's story of his appointment to the fief of Bidar, it is impossible to accept Ibn Batūtah's account of his rebellion. Sir Wolseley Haig's article in the J. R. A. S., 1922, pp. 346, 347, 348.

Nusrat Khan had given, at the time of his appointment, an undertaking that he would do his utmost to realise the revenues of the state with regularity and honesty. During his three years of governorship he could not realise more than three-fourths of the stipulated amount. Not only did he fail to carry out his promise, but he was also dishonest enough to defraud his sovereign. Having collected a number of discontented men, whom he fed upon false hopes, he entrenched himself in the fort of Badrakot which he fortified against attack. Barani writes that he was a coward, and it was chiefly on account of the fear of the Sultan that he hoisted the flag of rebellion. The Sultan's tutor Qutlugh Khan marched against him from Devagiri at the head of a contingent, and was reinforced by some *maliks* from Dihli and Dhar. After a stubborn contest in which the imperialists overpowered Nusrat's mercenary rabble, Qutlugh Khan made his way to the fortress and besieged it. Nusrat's younger son opposed the imperial general at the head of a considerable force, but he was defeated. The siege was pushed on. Nusrat and his party baffled the attempts of the besiegers to capture it, until at last when mines were ordered to be constructed beneath the walls of the fortress, the enemy, fearing for life, surrendered to the imperial general. He was taken prisoner and was sent to the capital. His associates were punished, and his fief was confiscated. He was subsequently pardoned and appointed supervisor of the royal gardens and received robes of honour and allowances.⁶⁸

Nusrat's rebellion was followed by that of 'Ali Shah, nephew of Zafar Khan 'Alai and one of the *amirs Sadah* of Qutlugh Khan, described by Ibn Batūtah as a brave, handsome and good-natured man.⁶⁹ This rebellion occurred in the Deccan in 740 A.H. It is clear from Barani and Ibn Batūtah that the date 746 A.H. given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* Badaoni and Firishta is incorrect. The date given by the first two is contradicted by their own admission that Qutlugh Khan sent the vanquished rebels to the Sultan at Saragdwāri. But this cannot be, if we accept the date 746 A.H., for the king had already left the place early in 741 A.H. after the suppression of 'Ain-al-mulk's revolt. Barani who places this revolt after Nusrat's rebellion in point of time says that

⁶⁸ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 357.

⁶⁹ Ibn Batūtah describes him as 'Ali Shah Kar (deaf).

after a few months in the same country occurred the rebellion of 'Ali Shah, nephew of Zafar Khan, and it was suppressed by Qutlugh Khan who sent the rebels to Saragdwāri for punishment. Ibn Batūtah's testimony also militates against the date 746 A.H. From his narrative it appears that the rebellion broke out, when he was still in Hindustan, that is to say, before Safar, 743 A.H. (July, 1342) when he left for China.

'Ali Shah had been sent by Qutlugh Khan to realise the revenues of Kulbarga. Finding the country denuded of troops, he desired to establish his own independent power. He and his brothers treacherously murdered Bhiran,⁷⁰ the Hindu chief of Kulbarga, and misappropriated the royal treasure. Emboldened by this success, they proceeded towards Bidar which they seized and put the governor to death. The Sultan directed Qutlugh Khan to proceed against the rebels at the head of a powerful force. Undismayed by the advance of the imperialists, the traitor 'Ali Shah organised his forces and gave battle to Qutlugh Khan. The latter dealt a crushing blow in the preliminary engagement that ensued and compelled the enemy to seek refuge in the fort of Bidar. Driven to extremities, the rebel accepted the terms dictated to him by the imperial general, and under the threats of a renewed attack he and his brothers came out of the fort. Qutlugh Khan captured them and immediately dispatched them to the Sultan at Saragdwāri. They were exiled to Ghazni, but after some time two of them returned and were severely punished by the Sultan for this act of disobedience.⁷¹

⁷⁰ This name is Bhiran in Barani, Bharan in *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and Bahaian in the Calcutta Text of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari*.

⁷¹ Barani writes :

سلطان محمد علي شاه و برادران او را در غزنين فرستاد
و ايشان از آنجا باز آمدند و هر دو برادر را در پيش داخل
سياست نمودند -

Badaoni alone says that the Sultan sent them to Ghazni in exile, but afterwards recalled them thence and put them to death. Ranking, *Al-Badāoni*, I, p. 312. It is not clear on whose authority Badaoni says so. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* simply says that they returned and were punished. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad and Firishta also say that they returned without permission. Barani's account is trustworthy. He is corroborated in material particulars by Ibn Batūtah and Nizam-al-Din who wrote prior to Badaoni.

The most formidable rebellion, however, was that of 'Ain-al-mulk, the governor of Oudh and Zafraabad, an old and distinguished officer of the state. This occurred in 740-41 A.H.

The revolt of
'Ain-al-Mulk 740-
41 A.H.

Neither Barani nor Ibn Batūtah specifically mentions the date of this rebellion, but with the help of their writings we can determine the correct

date. Badaoni accepts the date 747 A.H. (1347 A.D.) given by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, and he is copied by Firishta. A close examination of the narratives of Barani and Ibn Batūtah leads to the conclusion that the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk occurred at the end of the period during which the Sultan stayed at Saragdwāri, which must be sometime in 740-41 A.H. Barani says: 'when the Sultan came back to Dihli after the suppression of the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk, he stopped the prayers of Friday and the 'Ids. He had his own name and style removed from his coins and that of the Khalifah substituted . . . '72 There is a coin in Mr. Thomas' collection dated 741 A.H. issued from Dihli which bears on it the name of the Khalifah Al-Mustakfi' Billah Abu-al-rabi'a Sulaiman of Egypt.⁷³ This shows that the rebellion must have taken place before the issue of such coins, i.e., either sometime in 741 A.H. or a little before that.

Ibn Batūtah is an eyewitness of the rebellion. He gives a detailed account of it which is in material particulars corroborated by Barani who is a contemporary writer and by Yahya bin 'Abdullah, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* who is followed by almost all later writers in the matter of the chronology of this reign. Ibn Batūtah says that on the 9th Jamad-al-awwal the Sultan went towards Ma'bar to quell the revolt of Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah and returned to Dihli after two and a half years. After staying in Dihli for some time, he went to Saragdwāri in the heart of the Doab, where he again stayed for two and a half years. Barani and Ibn Batūtah both agree on this point. He further says that the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk occurred at the end of the period after which the emperor came back to Dihli and left for Sindh, where Ibn Batūtah resigned the royal service in Rajab 742 A.H. He was present in the royal camp at Saragdwāri, when 'Ain-al-Mulk's rebellion broke out, and the minute details which he gives regarding the preparations of the Sultan and the mode of fighting, etc., leave no room for doubt that he is correct.

⁷² Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 492.

⁷³ Thomas, Chronicles of Pathan kings, p. 259.

He says that he took part in suppressing the rebellion and saw with his own eyes his arrest and degradation. He goes on to add that he accompanied the Sultan to the shrine of Salar Mas'ud Ghazi, and was with him when he returned to Dihli.⁷⁴ On page 443 (Vol. III) he says that the rebellion of 'Ain-al-Mulk occurred when he was at Saragdwāri. Suddenly Ibn Batūtah was seized with a religious fit, and he left the Sultan's service in 742 A.H. in Sindh whither the latter had gone to suppress a rebellion. Now from these statements it is clear that 'Ain-al-mulk's revolt must have taken place before 742 A.H. The date 747 A.H. of the Indian historians is proved to be wrong by Ibn Batūtah's statement and also by the fact that in this year the Deccan revolution was in full swing. Further, there is the evidence of Barani who says that at this time the Sultan was in the Deccan. After the revolt, Ibn Batūtah says, he accompanied the Sultan to Bahraich and thence to Dihli, and then he went to Sindh where he resigned his service in Rajab 742 A.H. All this must have taken some months, and we may reasonably conclude that the revolt occurred in 740-41 A.H. while the Sultan was still at Saragdwāri.

'Ain-al-Mulk's original name was 'Ain-i-Māhrū and he is called by himself as well as by his contemporaries 'Ain-i-Māhrū, 'Ain-al-Mulk, 'Ain-al-Din, or 'Abdullah. In one of the royal mandates included in his *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* he describes himself as 'Abdullah Muhammad Sharaf al-mad'ūbah commonly known as 'Ain-i-Māhrū. That he was an official of high position is shown by the titles appended to his name in a royal decree. These are:—

"Malikal-sharq wa'l wuzra 'Ain-al-Mulk 'Ain-al-dowlah wa'l-Din Qami-'al-kafarati wa'l mushrikin, Qala'al-Fajarati wa'l mutmarridin ma'dan al-fazayal, Jama'-al-Saif, wal-qalam wali al-'ilam wal-'alam Sipahdar Iran, Dastur afaq 'Abdullah Māhrū wa-makkanah ullah."⁷⁵ Māhrū seems to be his family name. Other

⁷⁴ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 355.

⁷⁵ The titles are thus given in the text:—

ملك الشرق والوزرا عين الملك عين الدولة والدين قانع
الكفرة والمشركين قانع الفجرة والمتدريين معدن الفضائل جامع
السيف والقلم والي العلم والعلم سپه دار ايران دستور آفاق
عبد الله ماهرو مكنه الله -

'Ain-al-Mulk wrote his *Insha* during the reign of Firuz Tughluq when he had attained to the summit of official eminence.

Ibn Batūtah calls him 'Ain-al-Mulk bin Māhrū, III, p. 342.

titles he must have received during his long public career especially by rendering service to Sultan Firuz Tughluq. The first mention of 'Ain-al-Mulk is in Zia Barani's list of the officers of 'Ala-al-Din Khilji, where he is described as 'Ain-al-mulk Multani.⁷⁶ He was consulted by 'Ala-al-Din along with other officials, when he set himself to the task of ascertaining the causes of revolt and sedition in the state, and was afterwards appointed to the governorship of Malwa and Dhar.⁷⁷ He seems to have possessed a great skill in drafting official documents, for Barani mentions him as Dabīr or secretary to 'Ulugh Khan.⁷⁸ Under Qutb-al-Din Mubarak Shah he was selected by reason of his ripe judgment and wide experience to put down a local insurrection which he did with conspicuous success. But these services mattered little to a shameless debauchee like Qutb-al-Din who treated the old nobility with contempt, and allowed the women of his *harem* to insult distinguished nobles and officials. 'Ain-al-Mulk's name is mentioned among the unfortunate men who were thus maltreated. After the murder of Qutb-al-Din, Khusrau tried to win the favour of the leading officers, and conferred the title of 'Alam Khan upon 'Ain-al-Mulk.⁷⁹ The latter was on the side of Khusrau, when he marched to fight against Ghazi malik, but deserted him on the eve of battle and went away in the direction of Dhar and Ujjain.⁸⁰ The defection of such an important ally gave an irreparable blow to the cause of Khusrau who was defeated, and the kingdom of Dihli passed into the hands of Ghazi malik. 'Ain-al-Mulk paid homage to the new monarch, and he is mentioned as a prominent noble at the opening of the reign of Tughluq Shah,⁸¹ and in the next reign he is described for the first time by Zia-al-Din Barani as 'Ain-al-Mulk Māhrū.⁸² With a brilliant record of public service extending over a period of more than forty years. 'Ain-al-Mulk was appointed by Sultan Muhammad as governor of Oudh and Zafrabad. He was a man of wide learning, fully conversant with public affairs. His literary gifts were of no mean order, as is proved by his own work the *Munshāt*-

⁷⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 241.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 282, 323.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 337.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 410.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 419.

⁸¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 424.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 454.

i-Māhrū. Barani describes him as a man of amiable disposition, skilful in business, suitably prudent and famed for his upright judgment—a man whose eminent scholarship fitted him for high rank. Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif who followed Barani describes him as a 'wise, accomplished, excellent clever man, full of judgment and intelligence devoted to the interests of the state and the good of the people.'⁸³ He ascribes to him the authorship of several excellent works one of which was the '*Ain-al-mulki* which the same authority describes as a "popular and approved work." Amir Khusrau in his '*Ashiqā*' speaks of him as a man famous both as a soldier and an accomplished writer.⁸⁴ Gifted with a versatile mind, 'Ain-al-Mulk was a man of generous disposition, liberal even towards his opponents. His delicate and high-strung nature did not allow him to play the second fiddle to any one, and in his dealings with Khan-i-Jahan, the famous minister of Firuz, he never compromised his dignity nor sacrificed his independence. But he was not vindictive; he behaved chivalrously even towards those who tried to injure him. When Firuz consulted him about Khan-i-Jahan who was his uncompromising opponent, and who was responsible for his banishment from the court, he praised the minister's abilities and pleaded with the Sultan to keep him in office.

When the Sultan was encamped at Saragdwāri, 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers Shahrullah, Nasrullah and Faizullah worked zealously to collect supplies.⁸⁵ This conduct, so strikingly at variance with

⁸³ 'Afif, Calcutta Text, pp. 406—08.

⁸⁴ 'Ashiqā, Aligarh Ed., pp. 68-9.

⁸⁵ According to Ibn Batūtah 'Ain-al-Mulk had four brothers. Three of these were Shahrullah, Nasrullah and Fazlullah, and the name of the fourth slipped away from the memory of the Moor. Barani mentions Shahrullah and Firishta mentions three brothers Shaikhullah, Shahrullah and another Rahimdād who is not mentioned by any other writer.

'Ain-al-Mulk in his letters addresses several men as his brothers, but that is the usual way with him of addressing esteemed friends. In letter No. 92 we have برادر خواجة نظام الدين and in 93 برادر عزيز الدين and in No. 91 برادر نضر شادي. All these are addressed to friends.

Neither Ibn Batūtah nor Barani makes any mention of his sons. The *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* contains the names of several of them.

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|------------------|------------------------|
| 1. 'Amīd-al-Din. | } Letters Nos. 71, 72. |
| 2. Kamāl-al-Din. | |
| 3. Sād-al-Din. | |

4. 'Imad-al-Din Abdur Rahman. He is mentioned in letters 68, 69, 70. Kabīr-al-Din (f. 226) mentioned in letter No. 98 seems to be 'Ain-al-Mulk's nephew.

that of other governors, made a great impression upon the Sultan, and he reposed full confidence in the Malik and his brothers. But this did not last long. A singular lack of foresight on the part of the Sultan drove the loyal governor into rebellion. The cause of the rebellion described by Barani, Ibn Batūtah and later writers like Yahya, Nizam-al-Din, Badaoni, Firishta and Hajji-ad-Dabir is more or less the same. Reports had reached the Sultan from the Deccan that Qutlugh Khan's officers (Karkuns) had misbehaved themselves through greed and selfishness, and that they had inflicted much misery upon the population by their exactions and deprived the state of its revenues. He, therefore, decided to remove Qutlugh Khan from his command and to appoint 'Ain-al-Mulk in his place. Qutlugh Khan was a man of recognised integrity, and the sudden removal of such a veteran officer for whom the Sultan cherished a great regard came as a surprise to the Malik and his brothers. They thought that it was only a diplomatic move on the part of the Sultan to deprive 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers of their present position and possibly to take their lives. Besides, there were other circumstances which created distrust. During the famine when the Sultan had forbidden emigration, many nobles, officers and others had gone to Oudh and Zafrabad to escape from the wrath of the Sultan.⁸⁶ Nizam-al-Din and Firishta follow Barani in saying that these men had been charged with embezzlement and ordered to be punished. They had sought shelter with 'Ain-al-Mulk who treated them kindly, farmed out lands to them, and entered into relationship with them. These refugees further confirmed the suspicions of the Malik and his brothers by telling all sorts of stories about the Sultan. Barani clearly says that these men told 'Ain-al-Mulk that the Sultan meant treachery, while Ibn Batūtah simply says that the Malik's brothers conspired with him and resolved to set him up as their king. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* positively states that 'Ain-al-Mulk's proposed transfer to Devagiri was represented to him in such a light that he thought that the Sultan

⁸⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 486.

و جمله معارف و اکابر شهر خاصه ذویسندگان از منع سیاست
سلطان جسته و بیهانۀ گرانی غله بازن و بیچاره در او ده و
ظفرآباد رفته بودند و بعضی در عین الملک و برادران او متعلق
شده و بعضی دیهها مقاطعه گرفته -

wished to send him out of Hindustan in order to destroy him. That 'Ain-al-Mulk had serious misgivings about the Sultan's intentions cannot be doubted in view of this evidence. Again and again, the reports of the mischievous activities of these men had been brought to the Sultan's notice, but he desisted from taking any step, because he judged it impolitic to alienate 'Ain-al-Mulk. One day he sent word to 'Ain-al-Mulk and explained to him the inexpediency of countenancing these men, whose misbehaviour was likely to have a dangerous effect upon the public mind, and issued an order that all notable persons and writers who had fled from Dihli to escape punishment should be arrested and sent in chains to the capital.⁸⁷ 'Ain-al-Mulk regarded this as a foretaste of the Sultan's cruelty, and his suspicions were confirmed. He thought that the order of transfer to Devagiri was meant only to serve as a cloak to conceal the sinister design which the Sultan entertained of destroying them. In complicity with his brothers the Malik began to think of escape, and one night he suddenly left the royal camp at Saragdwāri, and proceeded to join his brothers who had seized the entire baggage of the king which was in his charge.⁸⁸ The news of these proceedings was conveyed to the Sultan by a slave Malik Shah who used to live with 'Ain-al-Mulk.

The situation with which the Sultan was confronted caused him grave anxiety. Away from the capital, in a place where he could not at once concentrate all his forces, he found it a difficult task to suppress the revolt. The inadequacy of men, munitions and money at first induced the Sultan to go to the capital and then having fully equipped his army to march against 'Ain-al-Mulk. He consulted his nobles on the subject, but the foreign amirs who entertained feelings of jealousy and hostility towards the native amirs, and who were anxious for the speedy discomfiture of 'Ain-al-Mulk who belonged to Hind, unanimously urged the adoption of prompt measures to counteract the designs of the Malik. The inadvisability of going to the capital was obvious, for in the meantime the enemy would have

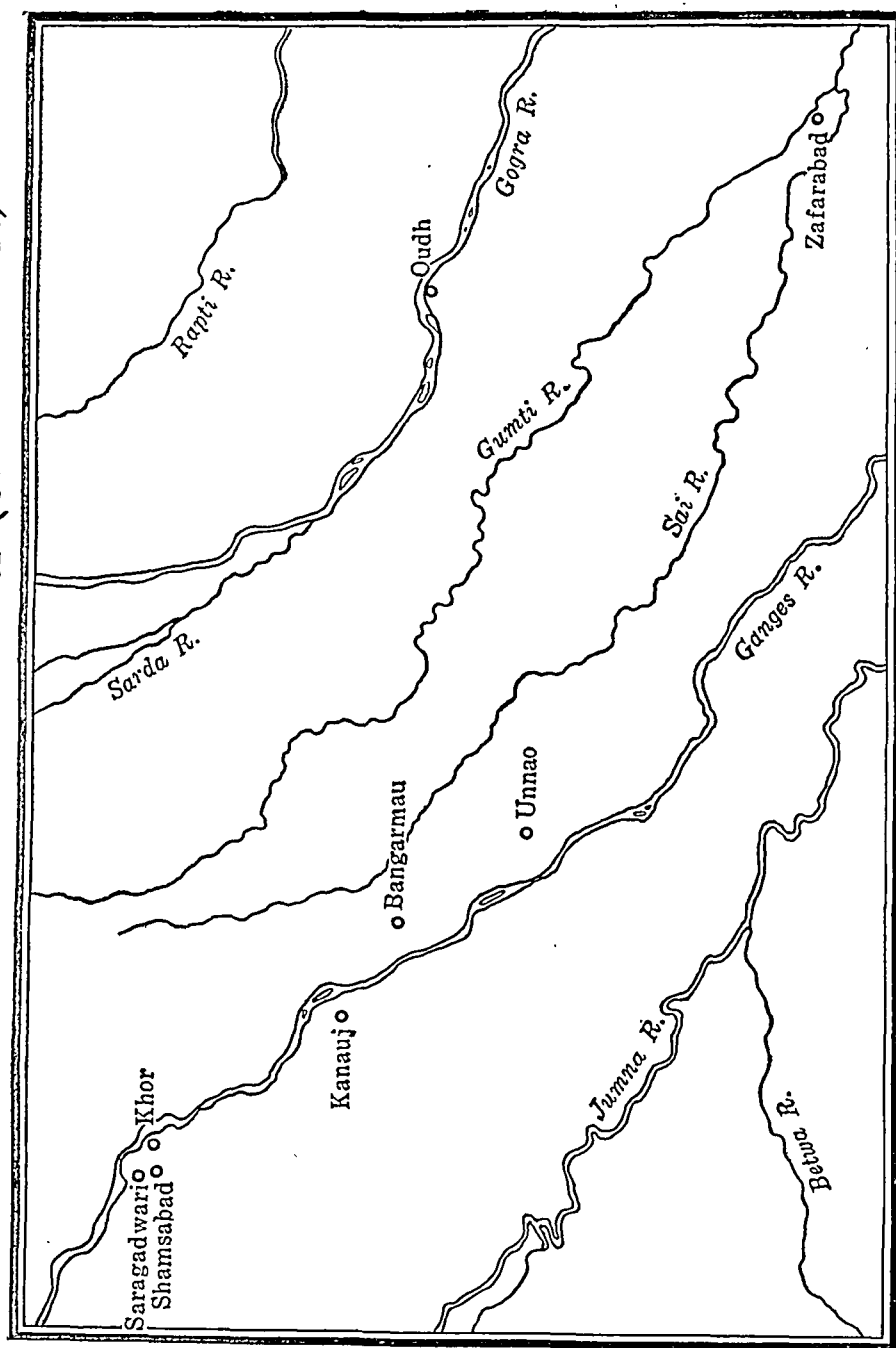
⁸⁷ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 486.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 489.

Barani says that the royal baggage was seized by his brothers who had crossed the river with three or four hundred horse. Nizam-al-Din says three or four thousand horse. The former seems to be more probable.

Tabqāt, Calcutta Text, p. 210. Badaoni says that 'Ain-al-Mulk fled at night from Saragdwāri and crossed the Ganges for Oudh and his brother Shahrullah seized some of the horses and elephants belonging to the Sultan.

REVOLT OF AIN-UL-MULK (1340-41 A.D.)



rallied round his banner all the discontented elements in the contiguous districts. Nāsir-al-Din Auhari was the first to suggest immediate attack so as to prevent 'Ain-al-Mulk from organising his forces, and his counsel disappointed the native amirs who secretly sympathised with 'Ain-al-Mulk.

The Sultan summoned troops from Samana,⁸⁹ Amroha, Baran, Kol,⁹⁰ and the governor of Ahmadabad⁹¹ also sent a contingent of men. Letters were sent to amirs and nobles in the provinces to send re-inforcements to Saragdwāri. Ibn Batūtah who was an eyewitness relates that the Sultan had recourse to a curious stratagem in order to make his forces look numerically larger. It was arranged that if a hundred men came to the royal camp from outside, one thousand men should be sent for their reception and the entire combined force of eleven hundred should enter the camp, making an impression upon the enemy that large re-inforcements were pouring in to swell the numbers of the royal army. The Sultan proceeded along the river bank, and decided to take the city of Kanauj in the rear to entrench himself in the fortress which commanded a good strategic position. He spent three days in vigorously organising his forces. The army was divided into sections after the manner of the east and every regiment was provided with well-caparisoned elephants, on which were seated chosen warriors eager for a trial of strength with the enemy. The march towards Kanauj began with great rapidity for the Sultan feared lest 'Ain-al-Mulk should forestall him in seizing the fortress of Kanauj and thus place himself in a position of unique advantage. The vanguard of the royal army consisted of the Sultan himself, Ibn Batūtah and his men, his cousin Malik Firuz with his comrades, Amir Ghadā-bin-Muhannā and Sayyid Nasir-al-Din and its strength was further increased by the Khorasani nobles and the contingent of Khwaja Jahan. 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers whom Barani describes as 'inexperienced in the art of warfare' crossed the Ganges below Bāngarmau towards the villages of Talah, Sanahi and

⁸⁹ Samana is a town in the Bhawanigarh tahsil of the Patiala state (Punjab), 16 miles west of Patiala town, Lat. 30° 10' and Long. 76° 29'.

Thornton, Gazetteer, IV, p. 367.

⁹⁰ Kol is a small town near Aligarh in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

⁹¹ This is probably Ahmadnagar, a town in the district of Aligarh on the route from Kol to Farrukhabad 33 miles South-East of the former, Lat. 27° 44', Long. 78° 38'.

Thornton, Gazetteer, I, p. 49.

Mazrabah.⁹² 'Ain-al-Mulk wanted to raid the camp of the Sultan, but he was misled by his guide who either wilfully or by mistake pointed to the camp of the Wazir. The Wazir's force consisted of Persians, Turks, and Khorasans who were all hostile to the Hindis, and though 'Ain-al-Mulk had fifty thousand men under his command they fought with a courage which astonished even their enemies. By day-break a large part of 'Ain-al-Mulk's forces had fled from the field, and he was himself betrayed by Ibrahim Tatari, surnamed Bhangi, one of his principal associates. His brothers Shaikhullah and Shahrullah were wounded in action and drowned in attempting to swim across the river. Rahimdad, another brother, was slain in battle and Nasrullah was beheaded by Sahil.

The capture of 'Ain-al-Mulk caused much rejoicing in the royal camp. Ibn Batūtah describes at length the indignities to which the vanquished *Malik* was subjected by the Sultan's command and he is partially corroborated by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Though Malik Bughra, the commander of the Imperial forces, suggested the penalty of death, the Sultan pardoned 'Ain-al-Mulk, because he was not guilty of wilful rebellion, and because he had rendered great services to the state. Firishta alone says that the Sultan not only pardoned him but restored him to his former office, saying that he was a loyal officer who had been instigated to rebel by others. On reaching Dihli the Sultan appointed him superintendent of the royal gardens and bestowed robes of honour and allowances upon him. After the defeat of 'Ain-al-Mulk the Sultan left Saragdwari and proceeded to Bahraich in order to pay a visit to the shrine of Shaikh Sālār Ma'sūd Ghazi.⁹³

⁹² Bangarmaū lies in the centre of the Parganah of the same name at a distance of 31 miles N.-W. of Unao on the road leading from that place to Hardoi. District Gazetteer, p. 156.

The town is one of the earliest Musalman settlements in the district. It was founded by Sayyid 'Ala-al-Din about 1300 A.D.

It is very difficult to identify the villages mentioned above.

Barani alone mentions them. Calcutta Text, p. 490.

⁹³ Barani calls him one of the heroes of Sultan Subuktigin. Abul Fazl and Nizam-al-Din describe him as a relative of the Sultan of Ghazni. Firishta also describes him as a relative of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, who came to Hindustan during the reign of one of his descendants and was killed by the Hindus in 557 A.H. (1162 A.D.).

Barani places this rebellion after the return of the Sultan from the Deccan and the appointment of Nusrat Khan to Bidar and Qutlugh Khan to Devagiri. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* assigns the year 744 A.H. to this rebellion and mentions it just after the rebellion of the Khokhar chief at Lahore. Badaoni, who otherwise copies the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* makes no mention of the rebellion. Firishta follows the order of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and mentions the rebellion just after the king's return from the Deccan. All this chronology is defective. Ibn Batūtah's account enables us to fix the approximate date with some certainty. This was the last rebellion in Northern India which he witnessed. From his account it is established that the revolt did certainly take place after the Sultan's return from Saragdwāri in 741 A.H. and before Ibn Batūtah's departure from Hindustan in 743 A.H. Ibn Batūtah, writing of his ascetic mode of life, which he adopted after his return from Saragdwāri, says:—

Shāhū Afghan's rebellion.

“ The Sultan had at that time gone towards Sindh. When he heard that I had renounced the world, he called me in Siwistan or Sehwan. I appeared before him in the garb of a mendicant. He talked to me with great courtesy and asked me to accept service

Firishta writes:—

از اقارب سلطان مكمون غزنوي بوده كه در عهد اولان
سلطان مكمون غزنوي در سنه ۵۵۷ هـ بدست كفار مقتول گرديد -

• Prince Darashikoh writes in his *Safinat-al-Aulia*:—

از سروران و غازيان لشكر سلطان مكمون غزنوي اند -
در اوایل اسلام در هندوستان فتوحات بسیار نموده اند بدرجه
شهادت رسیده شهادت ایشان در چهار صد ۴۱۹ و نوزده هجری
بوده -

A detailed account of him is given in the *Mirāt-al-Asrār* and the *Mirāt-i-Masūdi*. (Elliot, II, pp. 536—49), written in Jahangir's region by 'Abdul Rahmān who bases his account upon details furnished by Mulla Muhammad of Ghazni, a companion of the saint. This account is apocryphal, for the whole book is a mixture of legend, fable and history.

Firishta is right in saying that the Shaikh came to Hindustan in the time of one of Mahmud's successors and was killed fighting against the Hindus, but his date is incorrect, for in 557 A.H. (1161 A.D.) the power of the house of Ghazni had declined, and the house of Ghor had come into prominence.

again. I expressed a desire to go on Hajj and withdrew to a Khanqah which was dedicated to Malik Bashir. This was in the end of Jamad-al-Sani, 742 A.H." It appears from this that the Sultan had gone to Sindh to suppress the rebellion of Shahu Afghan. Barani also says that after this rebellion the Sultan suppressed robbers in Samana and Sannam and he is supported by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* in giving this order of events. The accounts of these historians read together lead to the conclusion that the two expeditions were connected with each other, and that the revolt of 'Ali Shah occurred sometime in 741-42 A.H.

Shāhū Afghan killed Bahzad, the governor of Multan, and with the help of a number of lawless Afghans seized the city. Malik Nawā brought to the Sultan the news of the revolt and the devastations which the Afghan banditti had wrought in his province. The Sultan marched at the head of a considerable force to chastise the rebel, but he had not advanced far, when the news came that his revered mother Makhdum Jahan had died at Dihli. She was a lady of great talents and looked after the management of the royal household. The Sultan was overpowered with grief, but having made arrangements for the distribution of alms for the benefit of the soul of the departed lady, he started for Multan. Frightened by the approach of the royal army, Shāhū Afghan wrote an apologetic letter to implore forgiveness of the Sultan. He was so affrighted that he fled into the mountains of Pāya and the Sultan entrusted the country to 'Imad-al-Mulk Sarteẓ. The object of the expedition having been attained, the Sultan returned to Dihli by way of Sannam⁹⁴ and Agroha⁹⁵ where he busied himself in administering famine relief. The distress at this time in the Doab was unbearable and the contemporary chronicler remarks that man was devouring man, and he is supported by Ibn Batūtah. The Sultan tried in every way to encourage cultivation, constructed wells but the people did nothing. Their tongues uttered not a word, and they continued inactive and negligent and the Sultan punished them.

⁹⁴ Sannam is the headquarters of the tahsil of the same name 43 miles South-West of Patiala town.

⁹⁵ Agroha is 13 miles from Hisar on the Hisar-Firozabad road. Now it is only a village. Near the village are the ruins of the old city which was a large commercial town.

Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 483.

Ibn Batūtah supports Barani by saying that cannibalism was rife in Dihli at this time owing to the severity of famine.

Trouble in the north did not wholly subside and the Sultan had to march again towards Sannam and Samana to punish the rebels who had formed strongholds and who plundered the wayfarers on the highways. The object of this expedition is clearly and somewhat elaborately set forth in the heading of the section in Barani's text.⁹⁶ The expedition aimed at the subjugation of hill chiefs and the submission of *muqaddams*, *Sarās*, *Birāhas*, *Mandhāras*, *Jivas* (Jats), *Bhattis* (Bhatti Rajputs), *Manhīs*.⁹⁷ These tribes were subdued and their ringleaders were captured. They were brought to Dihli and forced to embrace Islam. Many of them were assigned to nobles and officers and many settled in the city and virtually became

⁹⁶ Barani's Text, has the following :—

و اوزدن مقدمان و سران و بیراهان و مطیع شدن رانگان
منداهران و جیوان و بهتان و منهیان در شهر و مسلمان کردن -

Calcutta Text p. 483.

The Tabqat-i-Akbari says that the tribes of the *Mandhārān*, *Chauhans*, *Bhattis* and *Mīnās* rebelled in Sannam and Samana and withheld tribute. Calcutta Text, p. 207.

⁹⁷ These are Jat and Rajput tribes in the Punjab.

Sarās :—The *Sarā* Jats are chiefly found in the upper Malwa, in Ludhiana, Faridkot, and the intervening country. Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, p. 123.

Birāhas :—These are probably the *Burrās*, a Jat tribe now settled in Dera Ghazi Khan and Bhawalpore, Elliot's Glossary, Vol. II, of Punjab Tribes, p. 143.

Mandhājas :—These are Rajputs almost confined to the Nardak of Karnal, Ambala and the neighbouring portion of Patiala. They are said to have come from Ajudhia to Jhind driving the Chandel and Brā Rajputs who occupied the tract into the Siwaliks and across the Ghaggar respectively. They have in recent times shifted their position.

Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, p. 135.

Jivas :—Barani uses the word for the Jats. Besides *Jawā* is a clan among the Jats now found in Multan, Elliot's Glossary, p. 379.

Bhattīs :—These are still by far the largest and most widely distributed of the Rajput tribes of the Punjab. They are found in large numbers all along the lower Sutlej and Indus, though on the former often and on the latter always classed as Jats. Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, p. 144.

Manhīs :—Ibbetson speaks of *Manhās* as a sub-tribe of Rajputs. They are now found in large numbers throughout the country below the Jammū border in Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Sialkot, Gurdaspur, but especially in the first two.

Ibbetson, Punjab Castes, p. 154.

its residents. The wrong-doers were diligently traced out ; their depredations were put an end to and the public highways became free. By the end of the year 1342 A.D. all the rebellions in Hindustan were put down, and the royal authority was fully vindicated.

By the year 1342 A.D. the rebellions of Hindustan had been put down. The north had hitherto claimed the lion's share of the Sultan's attention on account of the dreadful famine and the disorders that prevailed in the country. Starvation caused misery and ruin and the unbroken succession of rebellions exhausted his energy and substantially crippled his resources. Though his punitive measures were successful, their effect was to exasperate the public mind which had already begun to chafe and fret under the pressure of over-government. He had re-established his authority in the north but the eastern possessions of the empire had slipped away from his control. The scene of conflict was now to shift from the north to the south and the remaining years of the Sultan's life were consumed in a feverish attempt to put down disorder and rebellion in that part of the empire. To a suffering world passing through the agonies of a severe famine and ill-responding to the measures which he devised to promote its well-being, Muhammad presented the spectacle of an injured Titan who stretched out his giant limbs in all directions to keep down his enemies, but the old energy and strength was gone and with it the chance of success against foes who had silently gathered strength and organised their forces for a more determined trial of strength.

The disappointment caused by failure and the permanent distempers of the body politic obliged the Sultan to seek help in another quarter. He decided to strengthen his

The Sultan's
submission to the
Khalifah.

authority by means of a patent from the Khalifah.

The Khalifah was the acknowledged head of the Muslim world to whom all Muhammadans owed fealty and obedience. He was not merely a secular sovereign but a representative of divine authority, the archpontiff of Islam, submission to whom was obligatory upon the 'faithful.' Mansur, the second Abbasid Khalifah, was a man of considerable foresight. To safeguard the faith and preserve its essential unity he established a system which recognised the Khalifah as the supreme head of the Muslim Church. So great was the prestige attached to the office of the Khalifah that even a weak and incapable man who

held it was looked upon with profound reverence by the Muslims. A distinguished authority on Islam writes : ' The oath to the elected Khalifah possessed a sacramental virtue and imparted a sacredness to his personality of which we in these times can have but little conception. And this sacredness was enhanced and accentuated by prayers offered for the accepted pontiff in the mosques of Medina and Mecca. It was a fresh enunciation of the saying *vox populi vox dei*.⁹⁸ According to the same writer the sacramental virtue attached to the *biat* (*عقود*) was based upon the idea that all the rules and ordinances which regulated the conduct of the general body of Muslims were the utterances of the voice of God. When a spiritual leader is chosen by the consensus of the people a divine sanction is imparted to his authority and he becomes the source and channel of legitimate government, the only authority who has the right of ordaining deputies entitled to rule, decide or lead at prayers.

Now, submission to the Khalifah's authority was not a new thing in the history of the Islamic power. Greater kings and conquerors than Muhammad Tughluq had sought the sanction of the Khalifah to consecrate their power. His goodwill was solicited even when the office had become a mere shadow of its former self. Warriors and champions of the faith like Mahmud of Ghazni had applied to the Khalifah for investiture, which was done by means of a formal patent and the usual robe of honour, which often included a turban studded with jewels, swords and ensigns. When the Muhammadans established their dominion in Hindustan they felt the need of obtaining some authoritative sanction to maintain their newly founded power. The first Indian sovereign to apply for such sanction was Iltutmish. But towards the middle of the seventh century A.H. a great calamity befell the Khilafat. The *Habib-us-Siyar* relates at length the story of the Khalifah's betrayal by Ibn-al-Qani who always kept him in the dark as to the real strength of the Mughals and the final capture of Baghdad by Halagu in 656 A.H.⁹⁹ The Khalifah Al Must'asim, an imbecile without character or capacity, proceeded to wait upon the Mughal invader with his sons Abu Bakr, 'Abd-ul-Rahman and 'Alwi Sayyids and learned men, but the Mughals showed no mercy and ruthlessly sacked Baghdad. It is stated in the *Tarikh-i-Guzidah* that 800,000 Baghdadis were slain

⁹⁸ Ameer 'Ali, History of the Saracens, pp. 404-5.

⁹⁹ *Habib-us-Siyar*, text (Bombay ed.), Book II, Chapter III, p. 81.

during this siege. Al-Must'asim was brutally murdered in the Mughal fashion and the 'Abassid dynasty came to an end.¹⁰⁰ A new Khalifah had to be elected and the Mamluk ruler, Baybars (1260—77 A.D.) invited an uncle of the last 'Abbasid Khalifah who had escaped from Baghdad during its siege by Halāgu to come to Cairo. He was installed in June 1261 and when his 'Abbasid descent had been examined by the jurists and attested by the Qazi, Baybars and his officers paid homage to him. The Khalifah who assumed the title of Mustansir conferred upon the Mamluk ruler a robe of honour with a patent of investiture. This diploma of which an English version is given by Arnold in his 'Caliphate' gives us some idea of the importance which was attached to such a document in the middle ages.¹⁰¹ As Arnold rightly observes the power and authority which the Khalifah claims in this document is entirely disproportionate to his real position which he occupied at Cairo.¹⁰² Perhaps Baybars regretted his adhesion to the Khalifah and heaved a sigh of relief when he was killed in an attack by the Mongol governor of Baghdad.¹⁰³ Another prince of the 'Abbasid line Abul 'Abbas Ahmad was installed with the title of Hakīm, but this time the Mamluk Sultan was careful enough to keep him as a puppet in his hands. The ceremony of investiture was gone through as before, and the descendants of Hakīm occupied the exalted office

¹⁰⁰ The Khalifah was rolled up in a blanket and then rubbed against the ground until the joints of his body were completely broken.

Habib-us-Siyar, Book II, Chapter III, p. 81.

The author of the *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* (Raverty's translation, II, pp. 1253-54), says that the Khalifah and his sons were sewn up in bullock's hides and kicked to death. According to Waṣṣāf the Khalifah was rolled in a carpet and trampled on until life was extinct and the shedding of his blood was thus avoided.

Please see: 'Le Strange's article on 'The story of the death of the last 'Abbasid Caliph from the Vatican MS. of Ibn-al-Furāt' in the J.R.A.S., 1900, pp. 295—98.

¹⁰¹ Arnold, *The Caliphate*, pp. 90—94.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 94.

Arnold says: "One of the most remarkable features of this document is the assumption of authority by the Caliph over territories that had not owed allegiance to the 'Abbasid dynasty for centuries, his claim to supreme jurisdiction in the Muslim world though he himself had no troops or resources of any kind at his disposal, and his interference, though an entire stranger in the administrative details of so highly organised a bureaucratic system as that of the government of Egypt."

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

for two centuries and a half. The Khalifah was merely a figure-head, deprived of all political influence and power, but his patent legitimised the authority of the Mamluk Sultans in the eyes of the world. So great was the helplessness of the Khalifah that in 736 A.H. when a misunderstanding occurred between him and the Sultan of Egypt, the former was arrested and placed under surveillance.¹⁰⁴ All contact with the people was forbidden, and he was banished to Kus where he remained until his death in Sha'ban 740 A.H. (Feb., 1340 A.D.). The Muhammadan state in India was not affected by these catastrophic changes in the position and power of the Khilafat, and the name of Al-Must'asim continued on the coinage of Dihli long after his death.¹⁰⁵ Probably no other choice was left to the rulers of Dihli during the revolution at Baghdad, and they considered it safe to continue the old practice in order to avoid all suspicion. 'Ala-al-Din Khilji was a man of daring will and lofty ambitions and to the pompous title of Sikandar Sani he added that of *Yamin-al-Khalifi* (right hand of the Khalifah), but his profligate successor Mubarak himself assumed the title of Khalifah and styled himself *Khalifah'ala* in 718 A.H.¹⁰⁶ He took this somewhat extraordinary step in a fit of religious impulse or to hide the infamy of his life which was thoroughly depraved. Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq was a modest and unassuming ruler who was satisfied with the simple title of Ghazi or Champion of the faith. Muhammad's earlier coins testify to the fact that he approved neither of the audacious ambition of 'Ala-al-Din nor of the eccentric pretensions of Mubarak. But when rebellions broke out all over Hindustan, and famine caused widespread misery, the Sultan felt the necessity of obtaining the Khalifah's diploma to strengthen his authority over his subjects.

¹⁰⁴ This was in the time of Sultan Nāsir who was a powerful monarch. It was the Khalifah Al-Mustakfi billah who was forbidden to have any intercourse with the people and ultimately banished to Kus (in upper Egypt). His children and descendants were allowed a maintenance just sufficient for them. Al-Mustakfi remained there till his death in Shabān, 740 A.H.

Jalāl-al-Dīn A's Sayuti, *History of the Caliphs*, translated by Jarrett (Biblioth. Ind.) p. 513.

¹⁰⁵ Nelson Wright, *Catalogue of coins*, Vol. II, p. 37.

Coin No. 175 issued in 689 A.H.

Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 255. . . .

N. W. *Catalogue*, II, p. 38.

Coin No. 191 issued in 699 A.H.

Ibid., p. 45, Coin No. 250 issued in 718 A.H.

Barani gives a detailed account of the Sultan's submission to the Khalifah, and he is followed by all later writers. Badr-i-Chāch and Ibn Batūtah both speak of the Sultan's *biat* (homage) to the Khalifah, though the latter gives no account of it beyond a bare mention in describing the visit of Ghiyas-al-Din, a scion of the Khalifahs of Baghdad.¹⁰⁷ The author of the *Sirat*, which is an earlier work, agrees with Barani, but he makes one or two mistakes in the course of his narrative. His dates are faulty, and his order of events is not altogether correct. For example, he places the arrival of Haji Sarsari and his colleagues Sidi Ziad, Mubashir Khalifati and Muhammad Sufi in 745 A.H. which is not supported by any contemporary authority.¹⁰⁸ The text of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* which I have used omits to give an account of this transaction, though Badaoni who mostly copies this work describes at length the exchange of embassies between the Khalifah and Sultan Muhammad. Badaoni borrowed his account from Barani or Nizam-al-Din whose works he utilised in preparing his history. Hajji-ad-Dabir who generally quotes from Barani and Hussam Khan reproduces the account given by the former and the same is done by Firishta.

The motive of the Sultan in rendering *biat* to the Khalifah is clearly stated by Barani who says that when the Sultan was at Saragdwāri, it occurred to him that it was not lawful to exercise authority without the sanction of the 'Abbasid Khalifahs.¹⁰⁹ From an ode

¹⁰⁷ When Ghiyas-al-Din came to Dihli, the Sultan almost apologised to him for having rendered *biat* to the 'Abbasid at Cairo.

Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 260-61.

In speaking of the abolition of taxes by the Sultan Ibn Batūtah again makes mention of his submission to the Khalifah.

¹⁰⁸ *Sirat*, Bankipore MS.

¹⁰⁹ Barani, p. 491.

Barani writes as follows :—

در آنکه سلطان محمد از شهر در سرکرد واری رفت در
خاطر افتاد که سلطنت و امارت سلاطین بے امر دان خلیفہ
که از آل عباس بود درست نیست و هر بادشاهی که بے منشور خلفاء
عباسی بادشاهی کرده است و یا بادشاهی کند متغلب بوده است
و متغلب بود -

Elliot has wrongly translated the passage. *Mutghallib* does not mean overpowered. It means a usurper, III, p. 249.

of Badr-i-Chāch also it appears that the motive in seeking a patent from the Khalifah was to strike fear into the hearts of the Sultan's ruthless enemies.¹¹⁰ The author of the *Sirat* who wrote shortly after Barani when information must have still been obtainable from eye-witnesses states that the Sultan's religiousness and learning had suggested to him this thought,¹¹¹ Edward Thomas, who had not consulted the *Sirat*, more or less accepts this view when he says that the odd phase of his progressive thought also had something to do with it.¹¹² The obvious motive was to strengthen his waning authority. To reinforce the dictates of religion and political necessity he had the sanction of precedent in his favour and made up his mind to procure a *farman* from the Khalifah in order to put a stop to the defiance of authority which had become a chronic feature of his reign. Indeed, such had been the motive of the Sultan in doing homage to a Khalifah and Jurji Zaydān, the well-known Egyptian scholar, is right in saying that if they had been unable to lay their hands on a Khalifah, it is probable that they would have made one, in order to rule the people by his aid.¹¹³ Nothing could have induced these powerful potentates to demand such a diploma from the Khalifahs who were virtually their creatures except the notion that it would produce an impression on the minds of the people.¹¹⁴ It appears that the fate of the 'Abbasids was but imperfectly known in India and Muḥammad Tughluq had to ascertain from travellers that a scion of the 'Abbasid Khalifahs lived in Egypt.¹¹⁵ From Saragdwāri

110 Qaṣā'id Badr-i-Chāch, Elliot, III, p. 569.

111 *Sirat*, Bankipore MS.

112 Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 257.

Thomas says :—

This is a very odd phase of Muhammad bin Tughluq's progressive thought . . . Though all this feeling may well have arisen out of new and more advanced studies of his own religion, or description by the Western visitors at his own court of the bygone glories of the supreme pontiffs of the Muslim world, who had more or less swayed the destinies of the East for five centuries, and whose extermination was so intimately associated with one of India's perpetual grievances, the success of the Mughals, who were ever threatening the gates of Dihli.'

113 *History of Islamic Civilisation*, translated by Margoliouth, p. 259.

114 *Ibid.*, p. 260.

115 Barani, pp. 491-92.

از خلفاء عباسی سلطان از مسافران بسیار تتبع میکرد تا از
بسیار مسافران شنید که خلیفه از آل عباس در مصر بر خلافت
متمکن است -

he opened negotiations with the Khalifah of Egypt, offered him allegiance and despatched for two or three months petitions regarding all his affairs. On coming to Dihli after the suppression of 'Ain-al-Mulk's revolt in 741 A.H. the Sultan suspended the Friday and 'Id prayers and removed his name from the *Khutbah* and coins and substituted that of the Khalifah in its stead.¹¹⁶ For a few days, writes the author of the *Sirat*, he withdrew from all public business. Probably in 742 A.H. came to the Sultan's court Ghiyas-al-Din, a great grandson of the Khalifah of Baghdad, Al-Mustansir billah. The Sultan extended to him his lavish hospitality and assigned to him ten lakhs of *tanqahs*, the palace of Siri with its reservoirs and gardens and the fief of Kanauj. He behaved in his presence with a humility bordering on the ludicrous, and meekly apologised to him for having rendered *biat* to the Khalifah of Egypt.¹¹⁷ In 744 A.H. when Haji Sayyid came back with a robe of investiture and a *farman*, the Sultan walked an arrow's distance bare-footed with his nobles, courtiers and learned men to receive him. He placed the robe of honour and the *farman* upon his head and kissed the feet of the Haji. The city was decorated, and gold was scattered among the people to commemorate the auspicious occasion. The Khalifah's name was repeated in the *Khutbah*, and an order was promulgated that henceforward the Khalifah's name was to be repeated in prayers on holy days. The names of those kings who had reigned without the authority of the Khalifah were removed from the *Khutbah* and they were regarded as suspended (*mutghallib*). So fulsome was the Sultan's flattery of the Khalifah that his name was inscribed not merely on the coins, but in all important edifices of the state. This was followed by the arrival of another *farman* from the Khalifah through Haji Khalaf, which confirmed the *farman* previously

¹¹⁶ N. Wright, Catalogue, II, p. 52.

Thomas, Chronicles, p. 257.

¹¹⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 258—66.

I have fixed the date of Ghiyas's arrival at the capital near about 742 A.H. There is clear evidence of the fact that the Sultan formally rendered *biat* to the Khalifah of Egypt in 741 A.H. From Ibn Batūtah's account it appears that this man came before the traveller left for China. He was on friendly terms with the 'Abbasid and writes many things about him from intimate personal knowledge. The Sultan told the 'Abbasid that he would have rendered *biat* to him if he had not already done so to the Khalifah of Egypt. From this I conclude that the 'Abbasid's arrival must have taken place sometime between 741 and 742 A.H. before Ibn Batūtah's departure from Dihli.

received.¹¹⁸ Shortly afterwards, the Sultan sent Haji Rajab Barqa'i to Egypt, and we can form some idea of his anxiety to please the Khalifah from the somewhat exaggerated statement of Barani who says: 'So great was the faith of the Sultan in the 'Abbasid Khalifahs that he would have sent all his treasure in Dihli to Egypt, had it not been for fear of robbers and would not have taken even water without the Khalifah's order.'¹¹⁹ The Malik Sarjamdar, an able and devout man, in whom the Sultan reposed much confidence was designated as a servant of the Khalifah and was styled Qabūl Khalifati or Khalifi.¹²⁰

When the Haji reached Cairo, the Khalifah Mustakfi billah had been dead for sometime. He was succeeded by Al Wasaq billah Ibrahim who was preferred by Sultan Nāsir to Al Hakim, the son of Al-Mustakfi, on account of some personal grudge. But Ibrahim was deposed soon afterwards and was succeeded by Abul-al-'Abbas Ahmad Al-Hākim bamr illah in 741 A.H. Al-Mustakfi's death was not known in India for Muhammad Tughluq's coins issued in 742, 743, 744, continue to bear on them his name.¹²¹ The coin No. 359 in Nelson Wright's catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, bearing date 745 A.H. seems to have been an advance issue, for in 744 A.H. Haji Sarsari must have brought to the Sultan the news of Al-Mustakfi's death.¹²² According to Barani, Haji Rajab returned two years after in 746 A.H. accompanied by the Shaikh-al-Shayūkh of Egypt with a *farman* from Ahmad.¹²³ According to Badr-i-Chāch who gives the date in a chronogram the Haji arrived in 745 A.H.¹²⁴

¹¹⁸ Sīrat, Bankipore MS.

¹¹⁹ Barani, Cal. Text, p. 493.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 493.

¹²¹ N. Wright, Catalogue, II, p. 52.

Coins Nos. 315, 316, 317.

Thomas, Chronicles, p. 259, No. 212.

¹²² N. Wright, Catalogue, II, p. 57.

Coin No. 359. (Dated 745 A.H.)

¹²³ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 494.

¹²⁴ Qasāid, Bankipore MS. folio f. 9.

MS. No. 140.

Elliot translates the passage thus:—

'On the very date on which one month was in excess of the year 700 from this journey, in the month of Muharram, before Sha'ban arrived.' This is not a correct translation. Elliot adds ۸۰ in the second line to ۷۰۰ which is not what the poet intends. The poet's words ۷۰۰ ۸۰ give 745 and not 746 as Elliot says.

Elliot III, p. 568.

The poet writes :—

ہم بتاریخے کہ ۴۵ ہر سال ہفت صد شد فزون
زین سفر ماہ مکرم سابق شعبان رسید -

The passage literally means : ' On the very date when the word ۴۵ (= 40 + ۵ = 5) was to be added to the year 700 (ہفت صد) in the month of sacred Rajab (سابق شعبان) returned from this journey.' Elliot, it seems to me, has not correctly interpreted the passage in arriving at the year 745 A.H. The literal translation which he gives is defective inasmuch as he interprets the word ۴۵ in the sense of one month which is not what the poet intends to convey. It is difficult to decide between these two conflicting authorities, particularly when no later writer gives us the correct date, but Barani seems to be more correct in saying that the Haji who left Dihli in 744 A.H. returned after two years with a *farman* from the Khalifah. As before, the Sultan walked on foot to receive the envoys, placed the *farman* and the robe on his head and ordered all the amirs of ten thousand of Mughalistan and Khorasan to honour the Khalifah's patent. From the amirs of *Hazarah* and *Sadah* (one thousand and one hundred) and ladies of high rank he obtained acknowledgements of *biat* to the Khalifah and bestowed rich gifts upon them. After sometime when the Shaikh-al-Shayūkh departed for Egypt, the Sultan loaded him and his companions with valuable gifts. Another *farman* reached the Sultan in Broach and Kambayat in 747 A.H. whither he had gone to suppress the rebellions of the *amirs Sadah*.¹²⁵ Every time the *farmans* were received with great honour by the Sultan, and Barani expresses his astonishment at the abject humility and self-abasement shown by him. The name of the Khalifah was mentioned in everything which the Sultan saw or did, and an order was issued that those who came to the court to offer presents should first make obeisance to the *farman* of the Khalifah.

Though the Sultan obtained the Khalifah's patent to legitimise his authority, the result does not seem to have been what he desired it to be. There was no question about the legality of his title to the throne, and neither Hindus nor Muhammadans had ever raised any doubt about his lawful sovereignty. He failed to understand the

¹²⁵ Badaoni says two *farmans* reached the Sultan in Broach and Kambāyat.

real need of the hour. The interests of the empire demanded not the confirmation of an already valid title but a complete reversal of policy. The Khalifah's patent was a poor substitute for sympathy and confidence. The Sultan persisted in his arbitrary course, and his vindictive attitude made it more and more difficult for him to win back the allegiance of his famine-stricken subjects. The hope that a diploma from the Khalifah would make them cease to rebel against their ruler proved futile and towards the middle of 746 A.D. the Sultan was plunged into difficulties from which he could never extricate himself.

CHAPTER VI

THE DECCAN

Though the situation of the Deccan has invested it with a security which few provinces possess, it is not impenetrable, for the

Nature of the conquest. Vindhya and the Satpura ranges that divide it from the north are not impassable, and the foreigners have not found it impossible to cross

them. The fabulous wealth of the Deccan fired the lust of Muhammadan adventurers and invested their expeditions, in their eyes, with the character of a *Jihād*. But no Muhammadan rulers of Dihli thought of conquering the Deccan owing to the half-established character of their governments until 'Ala-al-Din developed a far-reaching imperialistic policy, which gave him a large and extensive empire greater than that of any of his predecessors. The Muslim power paralysed all opposition, and for the time being the old culture and civilisation of the Hindus was crushed by the might of the conquering class. The followers of Islam easily overpowered their enemies, whose philosophical quietism placed them at a considerable disadvantage, when they were pitted against a warlike community which was bound together by the closest affinities of caste and creed. The success of the Muhammadans in the Deccan was due to the lack of unity and organisation among the Hindus of the south, and their mutual dissensions. The Muslim conquest opened a dark chapter in the history of the Deccan.¹ The superior might of the Muslims, their warlike spirit, and their iconoclastic zeal

¹ The aggressions of the Muhammadans caused untold suffering in the country. They carried off huge quantities of gold and silver and stopped public worship. So great was the fear that the tutelary God of Śrī-rangam had to be removed to a more secure place.

Madras Epigraphical Report for 1916 Sec. 33.

Extracts from the *Prapannamritam* of Anantārya in S. K. Ayyangar's sources of Vijayanagar History, pp. 34—40, and from the *Āchāryasukṭimukṭāvali* of Nāmbūri Keśvāchārya in Ayyangar's work, pp. 40—45. The latter work deals

overbore all opposition and the whole country lay smitten to death, as it were, under their terrible onslaughts. The religion of the Hindus was treated with open disregard ; old shrines venerated for centuries were desecrated, and their most cherished susceptibilities were outraged in a wanton manner. But the establishment of Muhammadan supremacy was far from complete in the South. The Deccan drew the northern invaders far away from their base, and the long distance made them ever anxious for the security of their possessions in Hindustan. The absence of means of communication made it impossible to hold large tracts of land permanently. What the rulers of Dihli could do was to exercise a perfunctory supervision from the headquarters, while the actual work of government was left to the provincial satraps who were appointed by the imperial government and who were all Muhammadans. The Muslim conquest of the Deccan did not lead to the Islamisation of the Hindus, for the forces of conservatism proved too strong for the new influences. The Muslim invasions were usually accompanied by acts of vandalism so that the conquerors came to be looked upon with secret but inextinguishable hatred. The smallness of their numbers compelled the Muslims to leave much of the administration to the Hindus themselves, whose pride of caste and creed did not allow them to mix with their conquerors or to adopt their customs and manners. While the north had somewhat tamely submitted, and the Rajputs bowed before the Muslim throne, the potentates of the Deccan assumed an attitude of sullen hostility and never ceased to strive for independence. The Muslim governor was not slow to take advantage of inadequate and spasmodic supervision of the central government, and he was more interested in trying to establish his own independent power than in the consolidation of the imperial rule. This fact is borne out by the frequent rebellions of provincial satraps, who withheld public revenues and formed cliques to support them in overthrowing the imperial yoke. Defiance of the central government was a normal feature of provincial politics in the middle ages, and the Deccan governors easily took

with the history of Śrīvaiṣṇavism in Telugu. It relates the tragic story of the dancing girl who saved the temple of Śrī-rangam from destruction by captivating by her charms the Muhammadan chief and finally by murdering him. The descendants of this woman still enjoy certain privileges in the temple in recognition of the service rendered by their ancestors.

the first place among such malcontents. Little regard was paid to public weal and the energies of the local administration were consumed in levying grinding exactions upon the people. When there was a strong ruler at Dihli, he asserted his authority and undertook punitive expeditions to chastise the rebellious governors, which resulted in much suffering to the population. The rapidity with which the governors were changed goes to illustrate the half-organised character of the Muslim polity in the Deccan. The Muhammadan government was in the nature of a military occupation, and its continuance was conditioned by its ability to maintain itself in a hostile land, where the people clung to their old habits and beliefs with an uncompromising tenacity.

Though the old dynasties of the Hoysalas, the Kākatiyas and the Yādavas, which had stood for social order and the preservation of Hindu culture had struggled in vain against their Muslim invaders, the forces of reaction had not wholly died out in the Deccan. They only wanted time to develop strength. Just as a Muslim was impelled by his religious instincts to fight and die in a cause which he deemed sacred, in the same way the Hindu captains and leaders considered resistance to him a matter of pious obligation. The idea of defending their religion against the attacks of the Muslims fired them with an unconquerable enthusiasm, and the religio-political revolts, which were organised by the representatives of ancient dynasties, were meant not merely to recover their lost independence, but also to shield their faith from the attacks of its avowed enemies. The first few years of Muhammad Tughluq's reign represent the palmiest days of the Tughluq empire. The whole country was completely subdued, and, from Dihli to Dwarsamudra and Lakhnauti to Sindh and Multan, the overlordship of Dihli was acknowledged by all Princes and chieftains as is proved by the testimony of Barani and the author of the *Masālik-al-absār*. But Muhammad's reckless profusion, his merciless treatment of subordinates, his capricious behaviour towards the hereditary nobility whom he excluded from his favour, and his preferential treatment of the foreign amirs—all combined to precipitate the disruption of his empire. When political unrest spread over Northern India, the countries to the south of the Narbada found it hard to resist the temptation of throwing off the yoke of the imperial government and established for themselves well-defined principalities with their capitals at Madura, Warangal, Vijayanagar and Kulbarga.

The Sultanate of Madura was established in 1335 A.D. and Muhammad was prevented by unforeseen circumstances from arresting the progress of this revolutionary movement in the South.² The new sovereign struck coins

The New Dec-
can Kingdoms.

in his name and began to organise his resources to wage war against the hostile chiefs, who enclosed his dominions on all sides. This was not all. In 1336 A.D. the foundations of

Foundation of
Vijayanagar.

the kingdom of Vijayanagar were laid by Vidyā-
ranya, and Hari Hara I became the first ruler
of the dynasty.³ Tradition says that two brothers

Bukkā and Hari Hara, who were employed in the service of the king of Warangal at the time of the destruction of that kingdom by the Muhammadans in 1323 A.D., fled with a small escort and found shelter in the mountainous region of Anāgondi.⁴ This tradition finds a partial corroboration in Barani who says that 'one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak (referring to Hari Hara) whom the Sultan had sent to Kambālā, apostatised from Islam and broke out into rebellion.'⁵ This view is confirmed by Ibn Batūtah, who in his account of Bahā-al-Din Gashtāsp's rebellion says, that the captive princes of Anāgondi embraced Islam, and probably he loosely uses the word princes for all those dignitaries who were captured during the war.⁶ The Portuguese chronicler, Nuniz,⁷ relates the circumstances under which

² The Sultan went to quell the revolt but returned on account of the epidemic which broke out at Arangal.

Barani, p. 481.

Ibn Batūtah also says the same thing III, pp. 333-34.

³ This date is mentioned in an inscription which Vidyāranya has left in one of the temples at Hāmpi. It appears that the city was not a new creation but a revival of some old ruined town. The inscription is as follows:—

'On Wednesday, the 7th lunar day of the bright half of Vaiśākh in the year Dhātu Śālivāhan Śāka 1258, in an auspicious time with Guru (Jupiter) in the rising sign (Lagna) I, the prince of ascetics, have constructed the city in Vijayanagar.'

⁴ This story is related with a slight variation in a Sanskrit work called the "*Vidyāranya Sikkā*" noticed by Buchanan in his "Travels in Southern India." (Mysore, III, p. 110).

⁵ Barani writes this in giving an account of the revolt of Kṛṣṇa Nāyak in the South, p. 484.

He does not mention the exact relationship, but it is clear that Hari Hara was in some way connected with the ruler of Telingana.

⁶ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 320.

Ibn Batūtah says he saw some of these princes with his own eyes.

Hari Hara was entrusted with the country round Anāgondī as an imperial vassal by Muhammad Tughluq. According to Nuniz, Deo Rao (Hari Hara Deva Raya) was the minister of the ruler of the territories round Nagundy (Anāgondī). About 1334 A.D. Togao Mamede (Muhammad Tughluq) invaded those territories and the Raja was slain in battle. The minister, along with the treasurer and four leading officers, was taken prisoner to Dihli, while the conquered lands were entrusted to an imperial deputy whom Nuniz calls "Enebiquymelly" or "Mileque niby" or "Melinebiquy" (Malik Naib). Malik Naib failed to manage the country owing to the hostility of the Hindus and the Sultan was obliged to restore the principality to the Hindus. He released the captives and made over the country to them. Accordingly the minister was raised to be king and the treasurer to be minister and after taking from them oaths and pledges of their fealty as vassals, he despatched them to their lands with a strong contingent to defend them, if anyone molested them in the way. Deo Rao was welcomed by the people. They hailed him with delight because they "had felt so deeply their subjection to a lord not of their own faith." They gave feasts in his honour and made obeisance which is due to kings. The imperial deputy, when he became aware of this, yielded the fortress and the kingdom to him and left the country. Deo Rao pacified the people and by his kindness won their esteem. One day, while hunting on the banks of the Tungbhadra, he met a hare which boldly turned towards his dogs and attacked them. The Prince was astonished at this miracle, and while returning homewards, he met on the river bank a holy man to whom he related what had happened. The holy man saw the place and advised the king to build a city on the spot where the miracle had happened. This hermit was the celebrated Vidyāraṇya. The city was founded and named after the hermit Vidyānagar. In course of time it came to be called Bisnagā or Vijayanagara. Sewell in his valuable history of the Vijayanagara empire has enumerated seven traditionary accounts of the origin of the empire,⁸ but the most reliable seems to be that which says that it was founded by two brothers, Hari Hara and Bukkā who were employed in the service of Pratap Rudra Deva of Warangal, and who fled from the country when it was overrun

⁷ Chronicle of Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 291—300 also pp. 8—15.

⁸ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 18—23.

by the Muhammadans. They accepted service under the Raja of Anāgondi who employed them in his service, but when that kingdom was overthrown, they were carried off to Dihli as prisoners after the rebellion of Bahā-al-Din.⁹ When the imperial deputy Malik Maqbūl failed to maintain order in the country, they were released and were appointed ruler and minister of Anāgondi and were compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Dihli emperor. Apart from the evidence of Barani that the person whom the Sultan had sent to govern Kambālā and who had embraced Islam was related to Kanyā Nāyak, there is other evidence to show that the two brothers originally belonged to Telingana. The foundation of the empire of Vijayanagar was followed by the introduction of the Telugu language and literature in the Kanarese country. The civil and military officers of the new empire were largely men of Telugu origin, who exerted their influence to introduce their own language, habits and customs among the people over whom they ruled. The effects of Telugu colonisation were seen in the adoption by the Tamils of strange festivals and observances and even superstitions, which were the principal features of the civilisation of their conquerors.¹⁰ The evidence of inscriptions leaves no room for doubt

⁹ The date 1334 given by Sewell is incorrect. According to Ibn Batūtah, Firishta, and Nunīz the country was conquered during the revolt of Bahā-al-Din Gashtāsp which occurred early in the reign sometime in 1326 A.D. Muhammad Tughluq's war against the Raja of Kampila was waged, according to Ibn Batūtah, because he had given shelter to the rebel and not, as Nunīz says, on account of greed of conquest. Ibn Batūtah further says that Belala Deo to whom Bahā-al-Din fled, unlike the Raja of Kampila, refused him shelter and sent him to the imperial army.

Firishta corroborates Ibn Batūtah. The author of the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* who is an earlier writer than Firishta also says that Bahā-al-Din fled, and was captured by the Hindus who sent him alive to the imperial *Durbar*.

Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 18.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 321.

¹⁰ Wilks, *Historical Sketches, History of Mysore*, p. 14.

Caldwell, *Tinnevely*, p. 48.

Ind. Ant., 1914, pp. 112-13.

Rangachari's article on the Telugu origin of Vijayanagar kings.

Lewis Rice's suggestion that the Vijayanagar kings were Mysorean by origin cannot be accepted. The earliest inscriptions of these kings are found north and west of Mysore, not because they originally belonged to Mysore, but because that country first came under their control.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 345.

that Hari Hara and his brothers were Yadava Kṣatriyas descended from the Lunar race.¹¹ The Bitragunta grant of Samgamā II dated Śāka-Samvat 1278 (1356 A.D.) makes mention of the five sons of Samgamā I and a grandson of his who is named Samgamā II who is wrongly identified with the progenitor of the Vijayanagar Princes.¹² Samgamā I had five sons, Hari Hara, Bukkā, Kampā, Marappā and Mudappā, who all united to form a new kingdom in the Deccan with the help of the famous sage and scholar Vidyāraṇya, to serve as a bulwark against the Muhammadan aggressions. Mādhava, surnamed Vidyāraṇya, on account of his vast intellectual attainments, was instrumental in founding the empire of Vijayanagar in 1336 A.D.¹³ Firishta's account of the foundation of Vijaya-

Mr. Rangachari, speaking of the effects of Telugu colonisation, says that the civilisation of the Tamils became mixed with the civilisation of the "Bādūgas." The "Bādūgas" were a race of strong and muscular physique in the armies of the Rāyas of Southern India. The Vijayanagar kings employed them very largely in their armies and also appointed them as provincial governors. For Bādūgas see Christian College Magaz., IX, pp. 753—64; and also 830—43.

¹¹ Epig. Carn., VI, Sg. No. I; also Kp. 25.

Sewell, Lists of Antiquities, II, Nos. 58, 79.

¹² See verses 3 and 4 in the Indian Antiquary III, 1894-95, p. 25.

तस्मादुदभवन्पंच तनयाश्शौर्यशालिनः ।
कल्पाचनिरुहाः पूर्व्वं कलशाब्जनिधेरिव ॥
आदौ हरिहरक्षमाभ्रुदथ कंप्पमहीपतिः ।
ततो बुक्क महीपालः पश्चान्मारप मुह्यौ ॥

Also Epig-Carn. VI, Ch. 64.

The sons of Samgamā I are mentioned also in this inscription.

¹³ Epig. Carn. VI, Sg. 11.

In 'Śringeri Guru Paramparā' Vidyāraṇya is called विद्यानगर निर्माता the constructor of Vidyānagar or the city of learning. Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1893-94, No. 49.

Also Hampi Inscription in B. S. Row's History of Vijayanagar, p. 10. This has been referred to before. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 113. Another important inscription dated S. 1258 (1336 A.D.) testifies to the grant of a village named Kapalam otherwise called Hari Hara puram in free gift to a Brahman named Kesava Bhatta. There is a place in Mysore called Hari Hara puram. It was probably called Kapalam before Hari Hara.

It is stated in Cd 46 that the city was founded and named Vidyānagari in the time of Hari Hara I, but it appears from Cn 256 that the city was afterwards built and its name changed to Vijayanagari or city of Victory in the time of Bukkā Rāya.

Sewell makes mention in his "Lists of Antiquities" of a Nandinagari grant of the year 1336 S. S. 1258 of king Hari Hara. The grant is of the village of Kapālam otherwise called Hari Hara puram in free gift to the son of a Brahman named Keśava Bhatta. Lists II, pp. 11-12.

nagar is incorrect both in date and details. He puts it after the rebellion of Kriṣṇā Nāyak and writes: "Belāl Deo founded a city in the mountainous region of his frontiers in a well-fortified place after the name of his son Sajan Raya, which came to be known as Bijannagar and by frequent use became Bijānagar. He sent numerous infantry and horse with Kriṣṇa Nāyak and succeeded in recovering Warangal. Malik 'Imad-al-Mulk the Wazir fled to Daulatabad. After this Belāl Deo sent fresh reinforcements to Kriṣṇa Nāyak, and the combined forces of both the Rais recovered from the Muhammadans the countries of Ma'bar and Dhorsamundar which had been for a long time tributaries of the ruler of Carnatic. On all sides the flames of war and rebellion were kindled and of the distant provinces nothing was left to the Sultan except Gujarat and Deogir."¹⁴ Firishta's Belāl Deo cannot be Vīr Ballāla III, for Kriṣṇa Nāyak's revolt occurred after his death in 1342 A.D. If it is Ballāla IV, then the foundation of the city must be dated later than 1342 A.D. But this is in conflict with the evidence of inscriptions which describe Vidyāraṇya as the founder of the city of Vijayanagar and which show that Hari Hara I had acquired considerable power before 1342 A.D.¹⁵ The city at first was called Vidyānagar, but afterwards, as the power and prosperity of the new principality increased, it came to be known as Vijayanagar or the city of Victory. Hari Hara I became the first ruler of the dynasty, and in a few years the boundaries of his kingdom widened, until in 1340 A.D. it included the valley of the Tungbhadra, portions of the Konkan, and the Malabar Coast. Several forts were built to strengthen the new kingdom; one was built by Hari Hara himself at Barukuru about the year 1337 A.D. and another was built at Bādāmi by one of his vassals.¹⁶ Ibn Batūtah who visited Hanaur sometime towards the close of 743 A.H. (1343 A.D.) or in the beginning of 744 A.H. (July, 1344 A.D.) writes that the Sultan of Hanaur, Jalal-al-Din was at that time subject to a Hindu prince

¹⁴ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 138.

Briggs I, p. 427.

Firishta's statement is wrong.

¹⁵ Hampī inscription in B. S. Row's History of Vijayanagar, p. 10.

Epig. Carn., VI, Sq. II.

Report on Sanskrit and Tamil MSS. for 1893-94, No. 49.

¹⁶ Sturrock, South Canara Manual, I, p. 65.

Ind. Ant., X, p. 63.

called Harib or Horāib by which is certainly meant Hari Hara whose authority was acknowledged along a portion of the Malabar coast.¹⁷ This shows that Hari Hara's power was fairly well established in the north, and the Hoysalas had retired towards the South leaving the kingdom of Vijayanagar to curb the aggressions of the Northern Muhammadans.

Though Hari Hara exercised sovereignty over a large area, he did not assume the titles of an independent monarch. He is described in his inscriptions as "Mahāmandaleśvara" or 'Hariyappa Vodeya' which indicates a lesser dignity than that of a full-fledged ruler.¹⁸ This modesty was probably due to a remarkable foresight. He wanted to play a waiting game. The interests of his growing empire demanded that he should do nothing to offend his powerful neighbours. Towards the north were the possessions of the Dihli Sultan, whom he could ill afford to displease or perhaps with whom he wished to keep friendly relations at least in appearance, and towards the south were the famous Hoysala ruler Vir Ballāla III who still exercised paramount authority over the Southern Districts, and the Sultan of Madura who held extensive possessions in the South-east, and who was always ready to fight against his Hindu neighbours. Prudence dictated caution; and Hari Hara clearly saw the danger to which his kingdom was exposed and avoided coming into collision with these formidable neighbours. He was more afraid of his southern neighbours than of the Sultan of Dihli, as is shown by the share which he took in the grand confederacy that was organised by Kriṣṇa Nāyak of Telingana, a

¹⁷ Ibn Batūtah writes and says, "The city is situated on the shores of the gulf through which ships can come and go. It is half a mile distant from the sea. The sea swells enormously during the rainy season, and for four months nobody ventures into it." IV, p. 63. Ibn Batūtah left Dihli on the 17th Safar 743.

An inscription dated 1346 A.D. states that a Virakal was set up in honour of certain 'gawdas' of 'Chapradahalli' who died fighting in the service of their king Hariappa Odeyar. This shows that Hari Hara must have been a prince of substance at this time.

¹⁸ Bādāmi Inscription of Śāka-Samvat 1261 in the Indian Antiquary, X, p. 63.

Epig. Carn., VII, Tl. 154.

Sewell, Lists of Antiquities of Madras, II, p. 244. It was Bukkā who first assumed royal titles.

Indian Antiquary, X, p. 63.

J. B. B. R. A. S., XII, pp. 340-41.

few years later, to expel the Muhammadans from the Deccan. But Vijayanagar had a great future before it. A power of substance was needed in the South to rally the forces of Hinduism against Islam, and it was this glorious rôle of the champion of Hindu interests which devolved upon the rulers of Vijayanagar after the disappearance of the Hoysalas from the political field.

The Sultans of Madura, as has been observed, gradually increased their power which now grew to formidable dimensions and challenged the Hindu princes of the South.

Ballāla III and
the Sultanate of
Madura.

Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah ruled for five years and was all his life engaged in fighting against the Hindus. The only powerful Hindu Prince against

whom he had to contend was Vīr Ballāla, who is described in an inscription of 1338 A.D. as "terrifier of Chola, Mālava, Gaula and Gujjara, splitter of the skull of the Magadha king, sun of the south, emperor of the south, a royal tiger to kings" and in another inscription of 1341 A.D. as "mahārājādhirāj of the whole circle of the earth, Rājparmeśvara, sun in the sky of the Yadava Kula, king over the hill chiefs."¹⁹ He fortified his possessions and guarded his frontiers effectively to prevent the Muhammadans of the north from sending succour to their co-religionists in the South. Ibn Batūtah describes Belāl Deo (Ballāla III), the Hindu Prince, as a grand monarch who ceaselessly waged wars against the rulers of Mā'bar, and whose object was to bring the whole province within the orbit of his dominions. Ballāla appears as the leading figure in the revolutionary movement which was started in the Deccan to expel the Muhammadans, and though he had passed through great trials and tribulations in an unusually long term of life, he had lost none of the fire and energy of youth. The ultimate object of his campaigns was to drive the Muhammadans out of Madura. Ahsan Shah died after a brief rule of five years and was succeeded by one of his amirs, 'Ala-al-Din Udaiji, who led an expedition against a Hindu Prince, and having seized immense booty returned to his country.²⁰ Next year, again, he led an expedition against the Hindus

¹⁹ Epig. Carn., IX Cd. 6.

Ibid., III, Md. 85.

²⁰ Ibn Batūtah says Ahsan Shah ruled for five years and he is corroborated by the evidence of coins.

Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 189.

J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 672, 675.

and defeated them, but he was himself killed by an arrow in battle during this campaign. After him his son-in-law, Qutb-al-Din was elevated to the throne, but he turned out a bad and vicious man, and was murdered forty days after his accession. He was followed by Ghiyas-al-Din who had also married a daughter of Ibn Batūtah's father-in-law, Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah. Ghiyas-al-Din Damghāni, who is described on his coins as Ghiyas-al-Din Damghān Shah was formerly employed as a trooper in the service of Malik Majīr bin Abu Rajā who was one of the servants of Muhammad Tughluq. He afterwards took service under Amir Hāji and declared himself king under the title of Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Damghān Shah.²¹ Ibn Batūtah found him reigning in Ma'bar when he reached there in 745 A.H. (1344 A.D.).²² Ghiyas-al-Din set up a splendid court and

In Dr. Hultzsch's collection there is a coin of Udayi Shāh which bears the date A.H. 740. No. 10, p. 675. 'Ala-al-Din Udayi ruled only for a year, for we have a coin of his successor Qutb-al-Din Firuz Shah which is dated A. H. 740, No. 12, p. 676.

He must have come to the throne late in the year 740 A.H., for he was murdered after 40 days, and the coin of his successor Ghiyas-al-Din Damghāni bears on it the date 741.

No. 13, p. 677. See Figure 10.

The Arabic text of Ibn Batūtah has 'Ala-al-Din Udayi (IV, p. 189).

Mrs. L. Fletcher writes Udeidjy as in the French translation of Ibn Batūtah's text. A portion of her translation which appeared in the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1888-89 is reproduced by Aiyenger in his 'South India and her Muhammadan invaders.' pp. 231-44.

²¹ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 188-89.

J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 677.

²² Ibn Batūtah started on his Chinese mission from Dihli on 17th Safar, 743 A.H. (July 22, 1342 A.D.). Having passed through many cities of which he gives a detailed account, he reached the Maldive Islands where he stayed for about two years. He left the islands on 15th Rabi-'al-Sani, 745 A.H. (Aug. 26, 1344 A.D.), IV, p. 164. He embarked for Ceylon and visited several places and finally reached Ma'bar sometime in the year 745 A.H. He is remarkably corroborated by numismatic evidence. Starting from Dihli, Ibn Batūtah traversed the following places :—

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Tilpat. | (13) Amwāri. |
| (2) Biyanah. | (14) Kachrad. |
| (3) Kol. | (15) Chanderi. |
| (4) Brij purah. | (16) Dhar. |
| (5) The Kali river and Kanauj. | (17) Ujjain. |
| (6) Hanol—Wazirpur-Bajalasā Moori. | (18) Daulatabad. |
| (10) Alapur. | (19) Nadarbar. |
| (11) Gwalior. | (20) Sagar. |
| (12) Barun. | (21) Khambayat. |
| | (22) Gawi or Qandhar. |

wished to play the rôle of a conqueror anxious to extend his influence to distant countries. So punctilious was he in maintaining the etiquette of the court that he allowed no one to appear in his presence without socks. Ibn Batūtah, who was sockless, relates that although several Muhammadans were present, he had to procure socks from a Hindu, whose generosity agreeably surprised him. The Moorish traveller urged the Sultan to send an expedition to the Maldivé Islands. An order was issued that ships should be equipped and presents for the queen of the Maldives and robes of honour for her nobles and ministers should be prepared. He ordered three vessels to be filled with alms which were to be distributed among the poor and the indigent. But the project was abandoned, for the chief admiral Khwajah Sarlak expressed the opinion that it was not possible to sail for the Maldives until the expiry of three months. Ghiyas-al-Din was a ruffian utterly devoid of human feelings. The Moor who was related to him and whom he received with great courtesy relates the horrible cruelties which were practised under his orders, and observes that "such atrocities and disgusting brutalities I have never witnessed practised by any king and it was because of his cruelties that he met his early doom." Neither age nor sex was spared, and the massacre in cold blood of women and children excited so much disgust that more than once Ibn Batūtah had to withdraw, for he could not bear to see such terrible sights. The hands and feet of these hapless victims were chopped off, and their heads were fastened on to the posts to satisfy this Muslim Caligula of the South.

But Ghiyas-al-Din had a powerful enemy to cope with. He was Vīr Ballāla III, whom Ibn Batūtah calls Belāl Deo. According to the Moor Vīr Ballāla had a force which numbered one hundred thousand and which included 20,000 Muhammadans most of whom

It was at Gawi or Qandhar that he embarked in a ship on the Malabar coast and passing through Bairam or Ghogo, Sindapur, and Hanaur he reached the Maldivé Islands.

The route taken by Ibn Batūtah is rather curious. From Tilpat he goes to Biyanah and then again comes back to Kol and passing through Kanauj goes to Gwalior.

For the places visited by Ibn Batūtah please see Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, IV, Series II, pp. 22—23, and Note B., pp. 63—66.

were thieves, dacoits, and runaway slaves.²³ Ballāla III had set his heart on the extirpation of the Madura Sultans and for the last fifteen years he had ceaselessly waged war against the Muhammadans to establish his dominion over the entire Coromandel coast. In 1342 A.D. he made a gallant attempt to invade Ma'bar. The Sultan had at that time a force of only 6,000 men, half of whom were practically useless and ill-equipped for active service. No time was lost and the parties engaged each other in battle outside the city of Kubbān belonging to the Sultan of Madura, in which the Ma'bar forces were routed and compelled to retreat towards the capital. From Ibn Batūtah's narrative it appears that the city of Kubbān was either in the north or north-west of Madura and was

²³ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 195-96.

Vir Ballāla came to the throne on the 1st February, 1292 A.D., and was killed fighting against the Turukas on the 8th September, 1342 A.D. This is established by the evidence of inscriptions.

Epig. Carn., VI, Cm. 36; Kd. 75.

Ibid., III, Md. 85.

This inscription shows that Ballāla was alive in 1341 A.D. A year before he had publicly declared his son as his heir.

Epig., Carn., IX, Bn. 111.

Ballāla III's son Virūpākṣa Ballāla IV was anointed to the crown on the 11th August, 1343 A.D. There is a grant (Sri Vajreśvara deva) signed by him.

Epig. Carn., VI, Cm. 105.

That Ballāla was alive in 1342 A.D. is proved by a record from Mālūr which mentions his full titles and ascribes to him the building of the *Setū Mūla Jayastambha* (pillar of victory in honour of beginning the bridge at Rāmeśvaram).

Epig. Carn., X, Mr. 82.

Soon after this he fought against the Turukas or Muhammadans.

Ibn Batūtah's statement that Ballāla was a powerful prince is corroborated by the evidence of inscriptions. He is described (Epig. Carn., VII, Sh. 69) as a terror-giving fever to Chola, Malava, Gauda, and Gurjjara, a Visnuvardhanā and emperor of the south.

Again in Gu. 58 and 69 (Vol. IV, Epig. Carn.) he is described as the Pallava Sun and the Pallava Trinetra.

He is styled sun of the South, emperor of the south and worshipper of the lotus feet of Viśveśvara. An inscription in Yelandur Jagir (Epig. Carn. IV, N. 39) recording a grant to six persons for building Upendiapattana, a new Ballāla is described as Pratap Chakravarti, strong-armed Hoysala, ruling the kingdom of the world. Several inscriptions mention his fights with the Turks.

Epig. Carn. V, Hn. 51, 52.

Ibid., Ak. 31.

one of the most strongly fortified cities of the Sultan.²⁴ The nobles told the Sultan that if the Raja captured the city of Kubbān, he would advance upon Madura and capture it. Professor Krishnaswami Aiyenger identifies Kubbān with Kannanur, a place of vital strategic importance to which a reference is made in an inscription of Jātavarman Sundara Pandya I.²⁵ Ballāla followed up his victory and laid siege to the town of Kubbān which Ibn Batūtah describes as a "large and well-fortified city." The siege went on for ten months and the Sultan was filled with dismay, for the fall of Kubbān would have rendered his position untenable in Madura. The garrison in the fort had provisions which could only last for fourteen days, and the Raja sent word to them that he would spare their lives, if they evacuated the fortress. They replied that they would consult the Sultan and Ballāla granted them fourteen days for this purpose. He also sent a letter to Ghiyas-al-Din which was read by the latter to the assembled populace on Friday. With tears in their eyes, his nobles and officers told him that they would sacrifice their lives in the cause of God. They unanimously suggested a daring course in self-defence and resolved not to flee from the field of battle. They tied their headgears round the necks of their horses which was a sign with them of unflinching determination. The need of self-preservation sometimes calls forth the best qualities of men's character, and these 300 chosen warriors of Madura like the brave men in the charge at Balaclava proceeded to the field of battle to deliver a surprise attack. The army was divided into three sections after the traditional manner of the east. The right was placed under the command of Saif-al-Din, a brave, pious and learned man; the left under Malik Muhammad *Silahdār* (armour-bearer of the Sultan), while the centre was under the command of the Sultan himself.

²⁴ Amir Khusrāu in his *Khazāyan-al-Fatūh* (MS. f. 74a) makes mention of the city of Kabam or Kubam (كَبَم) in describing Kafur's expedition to Ma'bar. Probably this Kabam is identical with Ibn Batūtah's Kubban.

²⁵ Professor Aiyenger says, the nearest South Indian Equivalent of Kubban could be only Koppam referred to in the preamble to the inscription of Jātavarman Sundara Pandya as Kannanur-koppam.

Kannanur is about eight or nine miles from Trichinopoly. The learned Professor thinks that Kannanur passed into the hands of the Muhammadans either during the invasion of Malik Kafur himself, or in the interval between that and this last battle. The change of capital to Tiruvannamalai was intended by the Hoysalas to serve as a counter-work to Kannanur which had passed into Muslim hands.

South India and her Muhammadan Invaders, pp. 173—75.

The rear guard was formed of 3,000 men who were stationed behind the main wings of the royal army under the command of Asad-al-Din Kai Khusrau of Persia.²⁶ At Siesta hour they started towards the Hindu camp. The enemy was unprepared for attack ; his horses had gone out to graze in the fields. Asad-al-Din delivered a surprise attack. Vīr Ballāla, mistaking the enemy for thieves, came out to fight with them, but the lack of preparation proved fatal. The stratagem of the Musalmans succeeded well enough, and the cause which the octogenarian warrior had at heart was lost. He attempted flight, but was captured by Nāsir-al-Din, a nephew of Ghiyas, who was about to slay him. His life was spared when it was discovered that he was the Raja himself.²⁷ The captive warrior was taken to the heartless Ghiyas who shrank from no crime, however atrocious, to satiate his wrath, and though apparently the Sultan treated him with courtesy and accepted riches, horses, and elephants from him, he was afterwards killed and his skin was stuffed with bran and hung from the ramparts of Madura, where it was seen by Ibn Batūtah in that condition.²⁸ All his baggage was seized by the enemy until nothing was left. Thus perished the greatest of the Hoysalas, a warrior of undying fame, who notwithstanding the infirmities of age, fearlessly strove to check the power of the Musalmans. The circumstances in which he met his death have invested his career with a halo of martyrdom, and there is no

²⁶ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 197.

²⁷ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 198.

²⁸ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 198.

That his death occurred in 1342 is established by the evidence of inscriptions. The exact date as stated in a previous note, is September 8, 1342 A.D. Ghiyas-al-Din had promised that he would spare his life but the promise was not fulfilled. Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 198. The fact of Ballāla's having met his death at the hands of the Madura Sultan is borne out by the following passage in the "*Kamparaya Charitam*" of Ganga Devi in which the Madura Sultan is described as an axe to the creeper of the prosperity of the Ballālas.

पराक्रमान्नयकृतं चोलपाण्ड्यं बल्लालसम्पत्तिका कुठारम् ।

रणोन्मुखं कम्पनृपोऽभ्यनन्दीत् वीरसुरत्राणमुदग्रशौर्यः ॥

"King Kampa of rising valour welcomed the warlike Sultan who had by his bravery humbled the Cholas and the Pandyas and who was an axe to the creeper of the prosperity of the Ballālas."

See extracts from the *Kamparaya Charitam* of Ganga devi in Ayyanger's Sources of Vijayanagar History, p. 28. Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 108. Kd. relates that Ballāla died fighting against the Turukas in a battle at Beribi on the 8th of September, 1342.

doubt that afterwards kindred spirits derived hope and inspiration from his noble example. The Hindu cause suffered a heavy setback, but the war of independence was not abandoned. It was taken up by other men under whose leadership it achieved an appreciable measure of success. The career of this redoubtable Hoysala, extending over half a century, spent in unwearied struggle with the Muslims, is unique in the annals of the fourteenth century, and no student of history can fail to be struck by his magnificent display of valour and devotion. Ghiyas-al-Din died of plague in 745 A.H. and was succeeded by his nephew Nāsir-al-Din whom he had declared his heir during his life time. Ibn Batūtah writes that he was employed at Dihli in the service of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq, but when his uncle became king of Ma'bar, he escaped from the imperial capital in the disguise of a mendicant.²⁹

The defeat of Vir Ballāla III at the hands of the Sultan of Madura failed to damp the ardour of the Hindu princes who had

Revolt of Kṛṣṇa Nāyak. vowed vengeance upon the Muslims. The difficulties into which Muhammad Tughluq's government was plunged encouraged them in their efforts to shake off the foreign yoke. The issue was not merely political, but also religious. The bigotry of the Muhammadans had fanned the flame of popular discontent and kindled the bitterest animosities. There were three influential princes in the Deccan who could combine to accomplish the overthrow of the Muslims. They were Hari Hara of Vijayanagar, Kṛṣṇa Nāyak of Telingana, and Virupākṣa Ballāla, the son and successor of the illustrious Ballāla III. The kingdom of Vijayanagar founded in 1336 A.D. had now made considerable acquisitions of territory and risen to the position of a substantial power in South India. Hari Hara and his brothers had launched upon a career of glorious conquests and quietly grabbed the territories belonging to the Hoysalas and the Muhammadans. Hari Hara professed to own allegiance to Dihli, but the mask was worn thread-bare and he sympathised with and promised active support to the confederacy, the object of which was the expulsion of the Muhammadans from the Deccan, and ultimately he co-operated with the other Hindu chieftains to accomplish it. The leader and organiser of this confederacy was Kṛṣṇa Nāyak, son of the famous Pratap Rudra Deva Kākatīya II, whose house had

²⁹ Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 202-203.

suffered great wrongs at the hands of the Muslims. Ever since the fall of Warangal in 1327-28 A.D. effected by Muhammad Tughluq's generals he had remained in a state of sullen hostility, maturing his plans for the speedy overthrow of his acknowledged foes. Virupākṣa Ballāla, better known as Ballāla IV, could never forgive the Muslims. The memory of his father's cruel death was still green, and the numerous insults and indignities, which the Muslims had heaped upon the Hindus of the South, constituted a festering sore which refused to heal. The increasing disorders of the Dihli empire provided its enemies scope for their ambitions, and encouraged by the political situation of the time, they renewed with greater determination and zeal the struggle for emancipation. Kṛṣṇa Nāyak became the soul of the triple alliance and received full co-operation from his confederates. Barani writes of the revolt in these words: "A revolt of the Hindus broke out in Arangal. Kanyā Nāyak had developed strength in the country. Malik Maqbūl, the nāib wazir, fled to Dihli and reached there in safety. The Hindus captured Arangal which was entirely lost. At this time one of the relations of Kanyā Nāyak, whom the Sultan had sent to govern Kampila,³⁰ apostatised from Islam and broke out into rebellion. The land of Kampila was lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus and Deogir and Gujarat alone remained in possession of the Sultan."³¹ Barani's statement regarding Kanyā Nāyak's relationship is supported by the Portuguese Chronicler Nuniz who writes that when Muhammad Tughluq found it impossible to hold the country round Kampila and Anāgondi by means of a governor, he appointed Deo Rao (Hari Hara Deo Raya) to hold charge of it.³² But there is nothing to show that Hari Hara embraced Islam in reality. Probably it was a political move to hoodwink the Sultan whose power no Hindu Prince could challenge in the South at the

³⁰ It is Kampila in the Calcutta Text of Barani, p. 484.

Kambila in Ibn Batūtah (III, p. 318) and Kambala in Elliot (III, p. 247).

³¹ Barani, p. 484.

Sewell, Lists of Antiquities of Madras, II, p. 174. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad faithfully copies Barani. The Calcutta Text of the *Tabqat* has Kanya Payak which is obviously a mistake. Calcutta Text, pp. 207-08.

³² Chronicle of Nuniz in Sewell's *Forgotten Empire*, pp. 296-98.

We have no inscriptional evidence of Hari Hara's apostasy. It is probable that Hari Hara might have offered a nominal allegiance to Islam when he was at Dihli to gain the favour of Muhammad Tughluq. Such a thing was not unusual in the history of Muhammadan India.

timé. Kṛiṣṇa Nāyak's revolt occurred sometime in 1343-44 A.D. a year or so after the death of the mighty Vīr Ballāla.³³ The confederacy is also proved by the evidence of inscriptions. In one of the earliest Reddi inscriptions dated Saka-Saṃvat 1267 (1345 A.D.) Vema is said to have built a flight of steps at Śrīśailam and he is described as the "very Agastya to the ocean of the Mlecchas." He is also said to have restored all the *agrahars* of Brahmans which had been taken away by the wicked Muhammadan kings from king Vīra Rudra of the Kākatīyā dynasty.³⁴ The author of the Arabic History of Gujarat does not give the date and only says, "Kitā Nayak (Krisna Nayak) rebelled and attacked Malik Qabūl in Arangal. The viceroy fled, and Telingana slipped away from the control of Dihli."³⁵ Firishta³⁶ who is more detailed on this topic than other Muslim chroniclers writes thus of the revolt: "About this time (744 A.H. = 1343-44 A.D.) Krisna Nayak, son of Ladder Deo, who lived in the vicinity of Warangal went to Belāl Deo, the powerful king of Carnatic, and told him that the Muhammadans had entered Telingana and Carnatic and had made up their minds to exterminate the Hindus. He suggested that something should be done to avert the crisis. Belāl Deo called a meeting of his ministers and after a good deal of deliberation decided that leaving his provinces in the rear, he should advance to the route of the army of Islam, and

³³ The last record of Ballāla IV is dated 1346 A.D. after which date nothing is known of the Ballālas. From this it appears that the confederacy of which Ballāla IV was an important member must have been organised before 1346 A.D. But the Reddi inscription which is dated 1345 A.D. shows that by that date the Kākatīyas had recovered their lost power. We may reasonably conclude that the rebellion of Kṛiṣṇa Nāyak must have taken place in 1343-44 A.D. Also Sewell, *Lists of Antiquities*, II, p. 161.

³⁴ For the Reddi inscriptions please see R. B. Venkayya's report of Epigraphy for 1899-1900, p. 23.

Epig. Ind., Vol. VIII, p. 9.

³⁵ The order of events in the Arabic History is not always correct, and for this we cannot blame its author because Muhammadan writers paid no attention to chronology. In this work Krisna's rebellion is placed just after the revolt of Baha-al-Din at Sāgar which is not correct.

Arabic History of Gujarat I, p. 158.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* makes no mention of this rebellion.

³⁶ Firishta puts the event just after the arrival of the Khalifah's envoy confirming Muhammad Tughluq's title to rule over his people.

Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 138.

deliver Ma'bar, Dhorsamundar and Kambila from Muslim control and place them in the charge of Krisna Nayak."³⁷

"In accordance with this plan Belāl Deo founded in the mountainous region near the frontier of his kingdom in a well-fortified place a city which he named after his son Sajan Raya. It was called Bijan Nagar, but by frequent use became Bijā Nagar. Numerous horse and foot were sent under Krisna Nayak and Warangal was captured. The governor 'Imad-al-Mulk fled to Daulatabad. Belāl Deo and Krisna Nayak both combined their forces and delivered Ma'bar and Dhorsamundar, which had been for years in the past tributaries of the ruler of Carnatic, from Muslim Control.

On all sides the flames of war and rebellion were kindled and of the distant provinces nothing remained in the possession of the Sultan except Gujarat and Deogir." Firishta³⁸ has fallen into error regarding the foundation of Vijayanagar, but he is right in saying that Belāl Deo (Ballāla IV) joined the confederacy organised by Kṛṣṇa Nāyak. No detailed account of the Hindu rebellion is furnished by any Muhammadan writer, but it is certain that the Muhammadans made but feeble resistance to counteract the plans of their enemies, and Muhammad Tughluq's government found no time to deal with the situation. It was impossible for Hari Hara to keep out of this powerful league. He shared in full the hatred which his co-reli-

³⁷ This is a translation of the passage in the Lucknow Text of Firishta. Briggs' version is somewhat different. Probably the passage in the text which he utilised was differently worded. He says: 'Belāl Dew, convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved, first to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove his seat of government among the mountains. Krishna Naig promised, on his part also, that when their plans were ripe for execution to raise all the Hindoos of Warungole and Telingana, and put himself, at their head.'

The rest of the passage agrees with the Lucknow Text of Firishta. Briggs, I, p. 427.

Firishta's Belāl Deo is of course Virūpākṣa Ballāla, son and successor of Vīr Ballāla who was anointed to the Crown in 1343 A.D. This has been discussed before.

³⁸ Firishta's account of Kṛṣṇa Nāyak's rebellion is correct. The date which he gives is borne out by the evidence of inscriptions. But his account of the foundation of Vijayanagar is entirely wrong both in date and details. If Firishta's statement is accepted, the foundation of the city will have to be dated about eight years later than the actual occurrence of that event. Hari Hara's power had considerably increased by this time and according to Sewell in 1340 A.D. he possessed large territories. He held sway over villages as far as the Kaladgi district north of the Malprabha which country had been overrun by the Muhammadans.

gionists felt towards the Muslims and knew full well that he would not be able to extend his power without coming into collision with the Muhammadans. He was induced by considerations of duty as well as self-interest to join the confederacy—a fact which is corroborated by an inscription of Samgamā II which records that Hari Hara I had inflicted a defeat upon the Sultan.³⁹ Another evidence of a general character is to be found in a copper plate grant dated Śāka 1268 (1346 A.D.) which records that Hari Hara, having conquered the earth from the eastern to the western ocean, decided to commemorate his victory and along with his four brothers, son-in-law and other relatives made a gift of nine villages to Bhārati Tīratha Śrīpad and his disciples, as well as to forty Brahmans living at Śringeri⁴⁰ for the performance of religious rites and ceremonies. Thus the revolutionary movement organised by Ballāla and Kriṣṇa Nāyak finally culminated in the disappearance of the Muslim power in Warangal, Dwarsamudra, and on the Coromandel coast. But the Sultanate of Madura still continued, and Ballāla IV, like his great father, fought against it until he lost his life in the attempt in 1346 A.D.⁴¹ The somewhat unexpected death of the last great representative of the Hoysala dynasty left the field clear for the ambitious sons of Samgamā who were well-versed in the art of war and diplomacy. They at once stepped into the breach created by the disappearance of their formidable rival and took vigorous steps to bring his dominions under their control so as to make the kingdom of Vijayanagar a mighty bulwark against the Muhammadans of the north.⁴² After the fall of the Hoysalas their power rapidly develop-

³⁹ The Bitragunta grant of Samgama II, dated Śāka-Samvat 1278 (1356) makes a reference to Hari Hara's victories over the Muhammadan Sultan, in verse 5.

तत्र राजा हरिहरो धरणीमसिपच्चिरं ।

सुत्राम सद्दशोयेन सुरत्रायः पराजितः ॥

⁴⁰ Epig. Carn., VI, Sg. 1.

Śringeri is the seat of the *advait* school of philosophy founded by the great reformer Sankarachārya.

⁴¹ We have an unbroken series of coins of the Madura Sultans from 1335 to 1345 A.D. After this there is a break and we have no coin until the year 757 A.H. (1357 A.D.) when according to the evidence of coins one 'Adil Shah sat upon the throne of Madura. Dr. Hultzsch's article in J. R. A. S., 1909, pp. 678-79.

⁴² A record of 1352 mentions Vir Bukkā Rayalu ruling at Dhorasamudra and Penugondā.

Epig. Rep. for 1918, Sec. 47.

ed and from the inscriptions we can form some idea of the extent of their dominions. Hari Hara and Bukkā restricted their attention to the western and central portions of the Hoysala dominions⁴³; Kampā I was placed in charge of the Udayagiri Rajya which included the modern Nellore and Caddapah districts⁴⁴; Marappā exercised authority over the Arga or Male-Rajya which is represented by the modern North Canara and Simoga districts⁴⁵; and Mudappā held a tract of land in the south-eastern corner of Mysore.⁴⁶

As has already been said, after the successful revolt of the Hindus of the far South, Gujarat and Devagiri alone were left in possession of Muhammad Tughluq. The principality

Recall of Qut-lugh Khan.

of Madura continued to enjoy its independence, although it appears from the break in the coinage from 1345 to 1357 A.D. that it had to wage frequent wars against its Hindu neighbours. Muhammad Tughluq was exasperated at his own failures; he was unable to eradicate the ubiquitous spirit of revolt that pervaded his empire, nor could he bring to book his former vassal, the Sultan of Madura. Indeed, the task of bringing him to obedience had been rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the powerful Hindu kingdoms which were interposed between Dihli and Madura. Disappointment soured his temper and he began to think that his nobles and subjects were the source of all his misfortunes. It is really strange that a talented ruler like Muhammad should persevere in a policy of mistrust and fail to receive the warning which experience furnished in an unmistakable manner. He employed in his service men of low birth unfit to guide him in matters of state-policy.⁴⁷ Like all despotic rulers he desired to

⁴³ Archæological Survey of India, 1907-08, p. 237, Note 2.

The Hoysala dominions declined in extent as well as importance. The fact that Singaya Dannayaka, one of the Hoysala feudatories at Danayakankottai acknowledges the suzerainty of Ballāla III in a record of 1340 A.D., but in a record of 1346-47 A.D. he figures as a semi-independent ruler, shows that the Hoysala power had declined. Annual Report on Epigraphy for 1906-7, Para. 51.

⁴⁴ Nellore Inscriptions, Pt. II, No. 28.

⁴⁵ Epig. Carn., VIII, Sb. 375.

⁴⁶ This tract of land was the Muluvayi or Mulbagal in the east.

Lewis Rice, Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions, p. 113.

⁴⁷ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 505.

A full account of this has been given in the chapter on administration.

create a hierarchy of officials who would depend upon him for their subsistence and who would, without question, carry out his behests. These men on whom Barani pours his cold scorn⁴⁸ failed miserably to grasp the situation and with a servility, which was always shown to men in power in mediæval India, they gave their hearty support to his misconceived plans and projects. Apart from this mistaken policy, the suppression of the hereditary nobility, the success of the Hindus of the South, the distress caused by famine in Northern India, the intrigues and conspiracies of the *amirs sadah* were factors which aggravated the situation. As soon as the Sultan was free from the rebellions of the north, he turned his attention to the affairs of Devagiri which had been neglected for sometime. He had long desired to appoint another governor in place of Qutlugh Khan, whose officers had failed to discharge their duties properly. While at Saragdwāri, he had thought of sending 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani to govern Devagiri, but the secrecy with which he tried to do things created a misunderstanding between him and the distinguished nobleman, and finally led to one of the most serious revolts with which he had to deal. On his return from Saragdwāri when the Sultan stayed at Dihli for three or four years, he received complaints that the officers and subordinates of Qutlugh Khan had embezzled large sums of money, and the state had been defrauded of *lakhs* and *crores* of *tanḳahs*.⁴⁹ The country suffered much owing to the oppressions and exactions of these men, and the Sultan determined to set matters right. The whole Maratha country was divided into four *shiqs* (divisions), and the revenue was fixed at sixty-seven crores.⁵⁰ Ibn Batūtah writes that the revenue of Daulatabad was once farmed to a Hindu for 17 crores (170,000,000) which he could never realise⁵¹ and Firishta, who is more reasonable in his estimate, says that the Sultan after this resettlement of the country expected

⁴⁸ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 472.

⁴⁹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 501.

Firishta says some of the courtiers maligned Qutlugh Khan and charged his *Karkūns* with oppression and abuse of authority and told the king that the revenue of Devagiri had declined considerably. Barani casts no aspersion on Qutlugh Khan's character and he and Ibn Batūtah both highly praise his honesty and devotion to public duty.

⁵⁰ Barani Calcutta Text, p. 501. Firishta supports Barani, Lucknow Text, p. 140.

⁵¹ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 49.

to realise seven crores (70,000,000) of silver *tankahs*.⁵² To get at the correct figure we shall have to strike a mean between Ibn Batūtah and Firishta. The court poet Badr-i-Chāch was deputed to Devagiri on the 1st of Sha'ban 745 A.H. (8th December, 1344 A.D.) to recall Qutlugh Khan.⁵³ As Sir Wolseley Haig beautifully puts it, the pill was gilded for the veteran public servant and tutor of the emperor who was sent for to gladden his eyes with a sight of the decree of the Khalifah and Badr-i-Chāch describes at length in poetical language the message which the Sultan wanted him to convey to Qutlugh Khan. The manner in which the aged Khan was recalled is an index to the culture and urbanity of the Sultan who held him in high esteem, notwithstanding the maladministration of his fief. Another reason which led the Sultan to be so courteous was probably the popularity of Qutlugh Khan with the people over whom he ruled. The newly created divisions of the Maratha country were entrusted to four officers—Malik Sardawātdār, Malik Mukhlis-al-Mulk, Yusuf Bughrā and the low-born 'Aziz Khammār (the vintner⁵⁴). The office of the Wazir of Devagiri was conferred upon 'Imad-al-Mulk and that of the Diwan-i-Aslub upon Dhārādhar (, ۱۵۱, ۱۵۵) who was entrusted with the agricultural reorganisation of the country and the carrying out of the regulations devised to promote the prosperity of the people. Maulana Nizam-al-Din, brother of Qutlugh Khan, on whom was conferred the title of 'Ālim-al-Mulk was ordered to proceed from Broach to Devagiri to act in his brother's place pending the appointment of a permanent governor.⁵⁵

⁵² Briggs, I, p. 432.

⁵³ Badr-i-Chāch gives the date :—

بسال دولت شهره بود غره شعبان
که سوئی مملکت دیوگر شد فرمان

Bankipore MS. No. 140, f. 50.

⁵⁴ Barani writes Malik Sardawātdār. Sardawātdār is the name of an office. The duty of the holder of this office was to take care of the king's inkstand and paper. Calcutta Text, p. 501.

Firishta says 'Imad-al-Mulk was appointed commander-in-chief of the Deccan forces and Sarwar-al-Mulk and Yusuf Bughra were sent with him to Daulatabad. Lucknow Text, p. 140.

Nizam-al-Din Ahmad gives the names of the four *Shiqdars* as Sarwar-al-Mulk, Mukhlis-al-Mulk, Yusuf Bughra and 'Aziz Khummar.

The Wizarat of Devagiri was conferred upon 'Imad-al-Mulk Sarir Sultanī and Dahrao or Dharao (, ۱۵۱, ۱۵۵) was appointed his *naib*. The latter was probably a Hindu. Tabqat, Calcutta Text, p. 214.

The removal of Qutlugh Khan with such suddenness was looked upon with misgivings ; he was an able and tried officer whose integrity had won him the confidence of all classes of his subjects. A man of charitable and generous disposition, he used to entertain pious men and mendicants, and was reputed all over the country as an honourable man. The Sultan always treated him with profound respect, and whenever Qutlugh Khan went to see him, though he seldom did so in order to avoid inconvenience, the Sultan used to rise from his seat to signify his respect for his old tutor.⁵⁶ Barani bestows lavish praise upon Qutlugh Khan's administration and says that during his tenure of office the people of Devagiri had no experience of the severity and rapacity which were the common features of provincial administration in other parts of the empire. They looked upon him as their friend and protector against the severe punishments which the Sultan inflicted upon those who dared to cross his will or failed to carry out his orders. Barani overlooks the fact that Qutlugh Khan's leniency had caused great abuses in the administration, and his subordinates had in the absence of strict supervision, embezzled public revenues and done what they liked. He gives no credit to the Sultan for doing an unpleasant duty in a most inoffensive manner. Be that as it may, the sudden dismissal of Qutlugh Khan filled the people with apprehension, and the Hindus and Musalmans alike disapproved of the king's policy and became anxious for their safety. Maulana Nizam-al-Din whom Barani describes as a " simple man utterly devoid of experience of public affairs " was accorded no welcome at Devagiri. Nothing served to allay the popular fears and suspicions, and the Sultan proceeded with the work of resettlement. As it was found impossible to convey to the capital the large amounts of revenue accumulated there owing to the insecurity of the Deccan roads and the rebellion in Malwa and the contiguous territories, the Sultan gave an order that the treasure should be deposited in the fort of Dhārāgarh. The new officers, placed in the midst of a people who resented their presence, found it extremely difficult to carry on the administration. To realise the stipulated revenue, they employed harsh measures which further increased their unpopularity, and the troops that were quartered among the population caused disorder

⁵⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 502.

⁵⁶ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 336-7.

Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 506.

and taxed the resources of the country. The management proved wholly unsatisfactory and in the words of Firishta "the people, disgusted at the removal of Qutlugh Khan and the want of capacity displayed by the new administration, rebelled in all quarters and the country was devastated and depopulated in consequence." Barani endorses the above view.⁵⁷ Rebellion became rife and the situation called for the immediate intervention of the Sultan. The revenue declined, and the officers gave themselves up to rapine and blackmail in order to make up the deficit and to fill their own pockets. The object which the Sultan had in view in carrying out this settlement was far from attained and the evil which he had tried to remedy remained as before.

The recall of Qutlugh Khan was followed by a fresh blunder of a more serious character. The Sultan's preferential treatment had swelled the heads of the "Centurions" (*amirān-i-sadah*⁵⁸) who were always ready to revolt against his authority and who paid little heed to obligations of law or morality in matters of administration. They were a source of considerable mischief, for whenever any rebellion occur-

⁵⁷ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 502.

⁵⁸ Barani calls these foreigners *amirān-i-sadah* (امیران صدہ) and he is followed by the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Professor J. N. Sarkar's MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* has *amir sadah*. Badāoni writes *amir sadah* and uses the word *Yuzbāshi* which means commander of one hundred.

The Lucknow Text of Firishta has *amir Sadgan*, but Briggs turns it into *Amcer Jadeedā* which means new amirs. We do not know on what authority he has made that alteration. It, certainly, does not exactly indicate the character of these men. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad clearly says that at that period (speaking of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq and the affairs of the *amirs sadah*) the *Yuzbāshis* were called *Amirs Sadah*. *Yüz* is a Turkish word which means one hundred and *Yūzbāshī* is a commander of one hundred. Tabqāt, Calcutta Text, p. 215. Redhouse, Turkish Dictionary, p. 878. Elliot translates the *amirān-i-sadah* as foreign *amirs* or chiefs.

Edward Bayley in an interesting note in his 'Local Muhammadan dynasties of Gujarat' (p. 43) writes :

"It is said to be a Mughal term for a "captain of a hundred," but in this place it rather designates a class of persons who seem to have approached in character the "free lances" of the middle ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries, and foreigners at least for the most part; some were probably remnants of the "New Musalmans" or converted Mughal settlers, of whom mention has already been made though some, as will appear from the narrative, were most certainly Afghan adventurers. Loyalty sits lightly on troops of this class, and they have ever been notorious for violence and rapine."

red in the country, they lent their support open or covert to malcontents and were always interested in promoting disorder to thwart

Mr. King in a footnote to his translation of the *Burhan-i-Masir* in the Indian Antiquary (XXVIII, p. 142) says, these men were rather free lances like those of the middle ages in Europe. They were leaders of mercenaries and foreigners, at least in part. He thinks some were probably remnants of the 'New Musal-mans' or converted Mughal settlers, though some were most certainly Afghan adventurers.

This is certainly borrowed from Bayley. Hājji-ad-Dabīr also writes *amir-sadah*, but does not explain what he means by the term. Arabic History of Gujarat, p. 1, 158. My investigation has led to the following conclusions:—
(1) These foreign amirs were not all Mughals, but men of several nationalities. For example, Malik Makh who was one of the foreign amirs is described by Barani as an Afghan. A great many of them were Mughals, for Barani says the Sultan patronised and favoured the Mughals.

(2) They were not all strictly speaking foreigners. Some were certainly foreigners from the far-off countries of Asia who had entered the service of the Sultan. But many of them were the descendants of foreigners who had settled in India during the previous reigns.

(3) Literally translated *amiran-i-sadah* means "amirs of hundred." Bayley, and King who follows him are not quite right in saying that they were like the free lances of mediæval Europe. It must be borne in mind that they had accepted the king's service and with it all the obligations which the acceptance of that service implied. Their profession was not plunder or violence. But like all mediæval adventurers they first looked to their own interests and were always ready to profit by the difficulties of the emperor in the north and south.

(4) It appears that they were employed as officers to collect revenue and also served as military men to keep order, for there was no clear line of demarcation in those times between the civil and military departments. Ibn Batūtah speaks of the "*hazārāh*" (thousand) of Amroha which included 1,500 villages and which was placed in charge of 'Aziz Khummār (III, p. 436) and in another place speaking of the revenue organisation of the country he says that a group of 100 villages is called *sadi* (صدی) in Hindustan which is placed under a *chowdhri* who is generally a Hindu and a treasurer (*mutṣarrif*) who collects the revenue (III, p. 388). He also speaks of *amirs sadi* and *amirs Hazāri*. Hājji-ad-Dabīr in one place speaks of them as *Umrah Māliyah*. When the *Khirāj* was enhanced in the Doab, the same authority writes that the *Umrah Sadah* employed great rigour in the collections. It makes it quite clear that one of the duties of these *amirs* was to collect the taxes.

The question arises whether these *amirs* were captains of 100 men as is frequently suggested or officers placed in charge of 100 villages. From the word *Sadi* it appears probable that each amir was placed in charge of 100 villages, though a careful examination of Barani's text as a whole leads to the conclusion that these men were officers who combined civil and military functions and each had one hundred men under his command.

Barani speaks of amirs of one thousand and amirs of one hundred Calcutta Text, p. 495.

the authority of the state with a view to gain their object of securing wealth and power. The nobles of the land, the descendants of men, who had fought in the cause of Islam since the days of Balban and 'Ala-al-Din, thought themselves wronged, and were in nowise treated with favour by the Sultan. When the Maratha country was reorganised, the Sultan realised that he could not restore peace and order in the country unless the foreign amirs were got rid of. To attain this object, he adopted a wrong policy. According to Barani, towards the close of the year 745 A.H. in which Qutlugh Khan was recalled, he appointed 'Aziz Khummār, a man of base origin, who was formerly a wine-seller, to the governorship of Malwa and Dhar and bestowed upon him some *lakhs* of *tanḳahs* to enable him to proceed to his charge with befitting dignity. The Sultan addressed him on the difficulties of the situation in these words ; " Thou seest, how revolts are arising in all directions in my kingdom and disturbances are taking place. I hear that wherever there is rebellion it is caused with the aid of the ' Centurions ' who befriend the rebels in order to embezzle money and engage themselves in plunder. That is how rebels get their opportunity. If thou comest to know that any of the amirs of Dhar are rebellious, thou must try to get rid of them in the best way you can."⁵⁹ The Sultan thus gave a broad hint to the base-born vintner's son to employ foul means if he thought it necessary to secure the desired end. The suggestion was only too welcome to a man like Aziz who took delight in mischief, and he carried it into effect with a fidelity which even his master did not expect. Forthwith he proceeded to his new charge and began to form plans to fulfil the mission with which he had been entrusted. Ignorant and tactless as he was, he set about his business in a most clumsy manner. One day he got together eighty and odd " Centurions " and officers of the army and charged them with having fostered a spirit of rebellion in the country and denounced their conduct in a most contumelious language.⁶⁰ He did not rest content with this ; the unfettered discretion which had been allowed him by his sovereign made him deaf to all counsels of prudence and caution, and in his zeal to please the Sultan he had these amirs beheaded in front of his palace. The Sultan was gratified at the news of 'Aziz's success and to signify his appreciation

⁵⁹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 503.

⁶⁰ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 504.

of his fidelity he forwarded to him a robe of honour and a congratulatory *farman*. The nobles and officers of the court were asked by the Sultan to send to him letters expressing their joy at his brilliant *coup*. The approval of such a dastardly policy was an unmitigated blunder the consequences of which Muhammad, who had lost his perspicacity of vision, could not foresee. The cold-blooded murder of these "Centurions" was an atrocious act which set in motion the forces which finally brought about the disruption of Muhammad's empire. The "Centurions" in Devagiri and Gujarat thought, not without justification, that the premeditated murder of their fellow amirs only foreshadowed the doom of the rest, and they became anxious for their safety, especially, because the Sultan had expressed his intention to exterminate the alien element in his kingdom. Besides, it was a wrong which these warlike men could not easily condone. Their mettlesome nature was excited by the cruel fate of their fellow-chiefs, who swore vengeance upon a government, which recked nothing of their lives. The amirs of Gujarat and Devagiri cast all loyalty to the winds and openly fomented rebellion in the provinces.

About this time Malik Maqbūl, the deputy Wazir of Gujarat, probably thinking that the atmosphere was charged with the spirit of sedition, wanted to convey the royal treasure which had accumulated in his province to Dihli. He started for Dihli by way of Dabhoi⁶¹ and Baroda, but on his way the 'Centurions' made a surprise attack upon the party in the night and carried off the royal horses and treasure. This led to further acts of brigandage and lawlessness, and the merchants of Gujarat, who were going with their goods and merchandise with him, were harassed by them and their valuable articles were forcibly seized. Thus was the progress of the imperial deputy impeded, and he was obliged to fall back upon Nehrvala, and his following was considerably diminished. The plunder of the royal horses and treasure together with the seizure of the goods of the merchants furnished them with the sinews of war and stimulated their ambition. With their position strengthened

⁶¹ Barani writes Dihūi.

It is modern Dabhoi near Baroda in Gujarat.

Hunter, Imperial Gaz., IV, p. 76.

Tieffenthaler, I, p. 372.

Bayley, Local Muhammadan dynasties of Gujarat, p. 45.

beyond their expectations, the 'Centurions' broke out into open rebellion, and having collected a large force, marched towards Cambay. Past favours availed naught, and the Sultan's authority was defied in all quarters.⁶² The administration was thrown out of gear and in the state of confusion that followed, the turbid elements of society rose to the surface and made it difficult to restore peace and order in the country. No succour was available from the imperial headquarters. The Dhar Bartholomew proved a folly as well as a crime and lit up the smouldering embers of discontent everywhere. When the Sultan heard of the disaster that had befallen his deputy towards the close of Ramzan 745 A.H. (February, 1345 A.D.) he became very anxious and commenced preparations to march in person to Gujarat to deal with the insurgents.

Qutlugh Khan, the old governor of Devagiri and the king's tutor, sent a communication through Zia Barani, that the rebellion of the 'Centurions' was not so serious as to require the royal presence and that if he were given permission he would suppress it in no time.⁶³ In vain did the veteran officer urge the impolicy of such a course. He told the Sultan that his presence would frighten the amirs who were already upset by the imprudent conduct of 'Aziz and that it

⁶² It was at this time that Qazi Jalal's rebellion occurred of which Ibn Batūtah has given (III, pp. 365—69), a detailed account.

It is difficult to vouch for the accuracy of all the details given by him, for they are not corroborated by other writers, but the following conclusions are established when we check Ibn Batūtah's account with those of Barani and the author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*.

(1) Barani says, when Malik Maqbūl was plundered near Dabhoi and Baroda, the flames of rebellion blazed high and the 'Centurions' attacked and plundered Cambay. Qazi Jalal's rebellion occurred at this time. He and his confederates attacked Cambay and plundered the merchants. This is supported by Barani and the *Sirat*.

(2) According to Barani, the Sultan, finding Malik Maqbūl, unable to hold his own against the rebels, appointed Shaikh Muiz-al-Din bin Shaikh 'Ala-al-Din bin Shaikh Farid-al-Din to the charge of Gujarat. This is corroborated by the *Sirat*. Ibn Batūtah does not mention this.

(3) 'Aziz Khummār marched against the rebels, but he was defeated. Barani says the same thing.

(4) Qazi Jalāl's flight to Daulatabad and his alliance with the rebels there is not mentioned by any other authority. But there is nothing improbable in it. It would have been difficult for us to accept Ibn Batūtah's statements about Qazi Jalal's revolt, if they were not supported by the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*. Ibn Batūtah's account is too detailed to be a fiction altogether.

⁶³ Barani, Calcutta Text, pp. 507-08.

would be better to entrust the task to some other hands. But the king, whose ears had already been poisoned against his old teacher, did not heed his advice, and pushed on his preparations for suppressing the revolt. He did not allow Qutlugh Khan to proceed to the Deccan, perhaps, because he did not believe in the sincerity of his proposal and thought that the revolt was in some degree due to the dissatisfaction caused among his subordinates by his sudden removal. Malik Maqbūl, having failed to hold his own against the rebels, a new governor was felt to be imperatively necessary to restore the prestige of the administration. Shaikh Mui'z-al-Din, son of Shaikh 'Ala-al-Din Ajodhani, was appointed viceroy of Gujarat and the state advanced him three lakhs of *tanqahs* and ordered him to raise quickly a corps of a thousand horsemen to reinforce the royal army. Having entrusted the task of government to Firuz, Malik Kabir, and Ahmad Ayaz, the Sultan started when barely three or four days were left of Ramzan (745 A.H.) and reached Sultanpur, a village at a distance of fifteen *Krohs* from Dihli. Here he received a letter from 'Aziz Khummār informing him that the 'Centurions' of Dabhoi and Baroda had revolted and he, being very near them, had marched against them at the head of the combined forces of Malwa and Dhar. The Sultan was disconcerted by this letter for 'Aziz was a man of low birth and not likely to command respect. Besides, he was inexperienced in the art of warfare and was likely to make confusion worse confounded. But how could the Sultan prevent his marching to Gujarat in time? With characteristic foolhardiness 'Aziz, who had entirely miscalculated the forces arrayed against him, marched to Gujarat to deal with the rebels, and in an engagement that followed he was roughly handled by the enemy. The next letter brought the news of this catastrophe to the Sultan. 'Aziz's men fled from the field of battle in a state of panic; he himself fell from his horse and in a state of unconsciousness was carried off by the insurgents who "put him to an ignominious death."

The discomfiture of 'Aziz caused profound anxiety to the Sultan. It does not appear that he realised even now the baneful effects of the congratulatory *farman* that had been issued under the royal seal with indecent haste and the approval of a policy of murder. Not a believer in a policy of conciliation, he grew more and more violent and severe and it appears from the conversation which Zia Barani, the historian, had with him at Sultanpur that like a disappointed man, whose faith in the inherent goodness of human nature is shaken

beyond recovery, he determined to enforce his orders by means of punishments.⁶⁴ It is the misfortune of the autocrat that he always thinks himself to be in the right, and Muhammad, ever ready to accuse his subjects of contumaciousness, became terribly severe when he found that his solicitude for the public weal met with no response from his subjects. The low born advisers whose ignorance of public affairs was simply phenomenal understood nothing of his policy, nor did they exert their influence to restrain their master from pursuing a dangerous course. With great haste the Sultan proceeded towards Gujarat, and when he reached Nehrwalla, he commanded Shaikh Mu'iz-al-Din, the Viceroy of Gujarat, to stay in the town to put down all disturbances, and himself proceeded towards the frontier of Gujarat, the mountains of Ābu,⁶⁵ where the rebels had gathered with a large following. From there he deputed one of his generals to march against the rebels with a strong detachment which overpowered them near the village of Dabhoi and inflicted a heavy loss upon them. A good many of their horsemen were killed and the survivors fled from the field of battle and went away in the direction of Devagiri with their wives and children. This preliminary success infused a fresh hope into the royal army, and the Sultan proceeded towards Broach where he set his forces in order to confront the rebels whose strength was not yet exhausted. At the head of a large force, consisting of the soldiers of Dihli, the foreign amirs of Broach together with a local militia, Malik Maqbūl⁶⁶ started in

⁶⁴ Barani, Calcutta Text, pp. 509-10.

⁶⁵ The reference is to the well-known Ābu hills in Gujarat.

⁶⁶ Barani writes Malik Muqbil and also Malik Maqbūl.

The MS. of the *Tariḫ-i-Mubarak Shahi* has Malik Muqbil. Firishta also writes (Lucknow Text, p. 149) Malik Muqbil. The Calcutta Text of the *Tabqat-i-Akbari* has Malik Qabūl, p. 234.

Ibn Batūtah writes Muqbil, Maqbūl, and also Malik Qabūlah but by the last name he means a different person as the context clearly shows. Barani uses the words Maqbūl and Muqbil for the same person, but he uses Malik Qabūlah for Malik Kabīr Sarjāmdār. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf writes Maqbūl.

Calcutta Text, p. 394.

Ibn Batūtah writes in another place Muqbil Tilangi which clearly shows whom he means, IV, p. 55.

Malik Qabūlah is a different person. He is Malik Kabir who had been accepted by the Khalifah when the Sultan paid homage to the latter. He was called Malik Qabūl Khalīfatī. Ibn Batūtah speaks of Malik Qabūlah *sarjāmdār*

pursuit of the enemy, and having overtaken them on the banks of the Narbada he fought an engagement and inflicted a defeat upon them. The enemy's losses were heavy ; a large number of their men were killed and their families and baggage were captured by the imperialists. Those who escaped from their pursuers fled to Mandeo, chief of Baglana,⁶⁷ who in-

(III, pp. 414-15) and he is supported by Barani (Calcutta Text, p. 493) who also writes that Malik Kabīr Sarjāmdār was Malik Qabūl Khalifati.

In my opinion confusion has arisen because of the carelessness of the historians and the important positions held by both of them. Ibn Batūtah speaks of Malik Qabūlah as a highly influential man whose troops and household establishment cost the state 36 lakhs a year.

Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 230-31.

The other man was also an important official. His correct name is Maqbūl. He was a Hindu of Telingana, whose original name was according to Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif Kuttū or Kannū. When the Rai of Telingana was conquered, he was brought to Dihli where he embraced Islam and the Sultan gave him the name of Maqbūl. He held important offices under Sultan Muhammad, and when Khwajah Jahan Ahmad Ayaz died he was appointed principal minister by Sultan Firuz Tughluq. He was greatly trusted by him. He died in 770 A.H. when he was more than eighty years of age and was succeeded in his office by his son Juna Shah. From an inscription in the Black Mosque built by the latter in Dihli it appears that his real name was Maqbūl and not Muqbil.

Reference :—

Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 230, 231, 402, 414, 415; IV, p. 55.

Barani, Calcutta Text, pp. 493, 507, 512.

List of Muhammadan and Hindu monuments, Vol. II, p. 179. Monument No. 240.

Syed Ahmad, *Āsār-us-Sanādid* Chapt. III, p. 36.

Carr Stephen, *Archæology of Dihli*, p. 149.

Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*.

Calcutta Text, p. 394.

⁶⁷ Barani writes the mountains of Sālir and Mālir, p. 512. Firishta writes that they fled to the chief of Baglana. Briggs I, p. 437.

Abul Fazl writes in the *Ain-i-Akbari* that Baglana is a mountainous but flourishing tract between Surat and Nadarbar, the chief of which is a Rathor commanding 3,000 cavalry and 10,000 infantry. It possesses seven remarkable forts among which are Muler and Saler. Both of these lie in the Navasari district of Baroda.

Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 251.

The earliest rulers of this tract of land were the Rathors who claimed kinship with the Rathors of Kanauj. They are first mentioned in 1298 when Karan, the last king of the Baghela clan fled and maintained himself with the aid of Ramadeva of Devagiri as an independent chief after his defeat by 'Ulugh Khan. After

stead of affording them asylum, robbed them of their valuables and cast them into prison. Reduced to a hopeless condition by the vigorous attacks of the royal army, the rebellious amirs lost their following as well as their influence. All disturbance was put down for the time being, but the authors of the rebellion still existed and the Sultan had recourse to foul play in order to rid himself of the danger. Malik Maqbūl, the imperial commandant, still remained on the bank of the Narbada, engaged in clearing the land of the rebels where the order of the Sultan reached him that the 'Centurions' should be made away with. Most of them were put to death by their captors ; while some who survived fled to Devagiri and others sought shelter with the Hindu chiefs of Gujarat. This atrocious act is a blot upon the name of the Sultan, and reveals to us the dark and repulsive side of his character. In his own mind he must have justified his action by the usual plea of despots—the reasons of state, but the lesson conveyed by it was seared upon the minds of the 'Centurions' who had serious misgivings about his attitude towards them. His policy of distrust and coercion added to the volume of discontent, and the opposition which it provoked gathered strength as time passed.

The victory which the Sultan's forces obtained quieted the situation for the time being in Gujarat, and he stayed at Broach to put things in order. But trouble continued in Devagiri where the 'Centurions' were only biding their time and preparing themselves for a general revolt. The revenue of these provinces had been in

the defeat of Ramadeva the country came under Muslim sway, but in 1347 when a revolution occurred in the Deccan politics the chief of Baglānā also assumed independence.

Hunter, Imperial Gaz. VI, pp. 190-91.

Bird, The political and statistical History of Gujarat, pp. 122-23.

Tieffenthaler, III, p. 134.

There is a mention of the chiefs of Baglānā in the *Māsir-al-'Umrā* which says that they were tributaries of Gujarat before they submitted to Akbar in 1572 A.D. It is stated in the same work that these chiefs traced their descent from Jaichand of Kanauj who is so famous in history and legend. The country is largely mountainous. "It is 100 *Krohs* in length and 3 *Krohs* in breadth. To the North of it are the Vindhychal mountains and the Tapti river, to the south the Sahyadri ranges, to the east Kalma and Nadarbār and to the west is Surat. There were two large cities in it—Antapur and Chintapur and seven hill-forts of which two are most famous—Mulir which is called Auranggarh and Salir which is called Sultangarh which is situated on a hill top.

Masir-al-Umra, Persian Text, I, p. 414.

arrears for several years past, and the Sultan now found time to appoint efficient tax-collectors to realise it with the utmost severity. But disobedience was in his eyes a greater crime than default in the payment of revenue, and he proceeded with his usual energy to punish the miscreants and their associates. The royal forces were left free to engage themselves in plunder, and under royal connivance they levied a heavy blackmail upon the people of Surat and Cambay. Those who had attacked Malik Maqbūl together with the amirs, who had openly or secretly countenanced their misbehaviour, were punished and as a result of these proceedings many people innocent as well as guilty lost their lives.

Meanwhile the 'Centurions' at Devagiri were restive. They had given refuge to the discontented amirs from Gujarāt and had conspired with them to overthrow the power of Muhammad in the Deccan. The impolicy of the Sultan was not a little responsible for such an unhappy turn of affairs. Besides, Malik Maqbūl's cruel treatment of the amirs on the bank of the Nerbada inflamed their resentment further and led them to adopt defensive measures. The weak administration of Nizam-al-Din was unable to reconcile these feuds and the misunderstanding increased, because no one handled the situation with tact and firmness. Distrust prevented the Sultan from adopting a conciliatory attitude and the 'Centurions' rightly became apprehensive of their safety. Having restored order in Gujarat, the Sultan turned his attention towards Devagiri and deputed one Zain Bandah⁶⁸ on whom he conferred the title of Majid-al-Din, and the middle son of Thanesari⁶⁹ who were the leaders of mischief-mongers, to hold an inquiry into the cause of disorder. Obviously the object of these notorious deputies was to ascertain the causes of disaffection in Devagiri and arrest and punish those of the amirs who were the leaders of the rebellious party. They set about their extremely delicate task in a manner so tactless and offensive that the Musalmans of Devagiri suspected, not altogether without reason, that their destruction was determined on by the

⁶⁸ Baranī writes Zin Bandah. Calcutta Text, p. 513.

Firishta alone writes Zain-al-Din Zund who was surnamed Majid-al-Din, Lucknow Text, p. 141.

The MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* has the same.

⁶⁹ Baranī has (*زین میانگی*) in the Calcutta Text, p. 513.

Firishta writes him Malik Muqbil, but he is not supported by other historians.

Sultan. Alarmed for their safety by the appearance of this un-called-for commission, they began to prepare themselves for the worst. When this state of affairs was reported to the Sultan, he was naturally filled with wrath and sent two noblemen Ahmad Lāchin and Malik 'Ali Sarjāmdār,⁷⁰ who were related to Amir Khusrau, to the governor at Devagiri, asking him to dispatch without delay a contingent of 1,500 horsemen together with the most distinguished of the 'Centurions' to join the Sultan's camp, and it was given out that they were required to suppress disorder in Gujarat. Whether it was only a subterfuge to remove these men from the stronghold of their power, or the Sultan really wanted to utilise their services in restoring order is not clear. The hold of the Muhammadan empire was still considerable in the Deccan, and Maulana Nizam-al-Din, the governor, in accordance with the royal mandate, summoned the amirs from Raichur, Mudgal, Kulburga, Bidar, Bijapur, and other places.⁷¹ Malik 'Ali Sarjāmdār and Ahmad Lāchin exerted themselves to the utmost and got together amirs like Nasir-al-Din Tughlji, Qazalbāsh Hājib, Hisām-al-Din, Ismail Makh, Hasan Kāngu, Nur-al-Din and 'Alim-al-Mulk and sent them to Daulatabad. The "Centurions" proceeded in their journey towards the royal camp though not without a feeling of mistrust and fear. Ahmad Lāchin, the royal emissary, showed a curious lack of prudence in behaving towards these men in an insulting manner. He openly charged them with sedition and harbouring the rebellious nobles of Gujarat, and remarked to his comrades that the Sultan would inflict upon them condign punishments for all their past and present offences. His threats, accompanied by his natural hauteur, kindled resentment in the minds of these excitable people, and they began to regret the step they had taken in obeying the royal command. Tact is infinitely more valuable than mere physical courage on such occasions, but Ahmad Lāchin did not perceive his error and continued

⁷⁰ The MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* which Firishta has copied has Malik 'Ali Sarjāmdār. The correct form ought to be Sarjāmdār. Briggs makes it into Husain 'Ali (l. p. 438).

The MS. of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* mentions Qaltāsh Husain and Husain Kaunias the persons who carried the *farman* of the Sultan to the governor at Devagiri.

⁷¹ Rāichur is in the state of Hyderabad. It is situated in Lat. 16° 10', Long. 77° 24', 11 miles S. W. by South from Hyderabad. Thornton, *Gaz.* IV. p. 247.

Mudgal is the headquarters of Ligsugūr taluk in Rāichur district, Hyderabad state. *Imp. Gaz.* XVIII, p. 11.

to persist in his foolish course. They took it into their heads that they were called in order to be put to death and at the end of the first stage of their journey they refused to proceed further and attacked the royal party one night. Ahmad Lāchīn and his companions were killed, and the rebels retreated to Devagiri where they made a raid upon the residence of the governor.⁷² Barani clearly states that the *amirs sadah* took up arms because they feared death at the hands of the Sultan, and he is supported by the author of the *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shahi*.⁷³ The author of the *Burhān-i-Māsir* also writes that the *amirs sadah*, obeying the order of the Sultan, started for the royal camp, but on the way, overcome with fear, they one day at midnight attacked the royal army, and the troops, being taken unawares, most of them were killed and the remainder took to flight and made their way to the Sultan's camp.⁷⁴ The governor was captured and thrown into prison, but his life was spared, for he had done nothing to injure the 'Centurions'.⁷⁵ The other officials of the crown, who had been sent there to assist Nizam-al-Din in suppressing disorder, were roughly handled and nothing availed to save them from the fury of their enemies. The son of Rukn Thanesari was hacked to pieces, and the rebels seized and distributed amongst themselves the treasure which was deposited in the fort of Dharagarh. They chose one of their leaders Isma'il Makh Afghan, brother of Malik Mal Afghan as their king under the title of Nāṣir-al-Din and assigned to him the functions of royalty.⁷⁶ The imperial authority

⁷² Barani clearly says that the two nobles who were sent to bring them were killed in the first march. Calcutta Text, p. 514. The *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shahi* says Ahmad Lāchīn was killed while others escaped. Firishṭa says Ahmad Lāchīn was slain, while the others fled to the camp of the Sultan. Briggs I, pp. 437-38.

The Lucknow Text, (p. 142) clearly says that Sarjāmdār escaped. Badāoni supports Firishṭa I, 313.

Barani is a contemporary writer and has a personal knowledge of these events, and, therefore, his statement is more trustworthy.

⁷³ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 514.

⁷⁴ Professor J. N. Sarkar's MS. p. 8.

⁷⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 219.

⁷⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 514.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Cal. Text. p. 219.

Briggs II, p. 287.

Firishṭa says Ismail whom the amirs chose as their leader was the brother of Malik Mugh, commander of the royal forces in Malwa. This selection was

having been suspended, the rebels proceeded to divide the Maratha country into districts to suit their convenience. The whole country was in a state of ferment; the 'Centurions' who had previously retired to distant places owing to the fear of the Sultan came back on hearing of the success of their fellow-amirs. The amirs of Dabhoī and Baroda, who had gone to the mountainous region of Baglānā, having been apprised of these developments, returned to Devagiri and threw in their lot with the disaffected party. The common people and the peasantry could no longer keep aloof in such a state of disorder and they swelled the ranks of the rebels. Thus Devagiri became the storm-centre and the rallying point of the 'Centurions,' and from all sides the army of revolt received fresh accessions of strength until at last the magnitude of the danger roused the Sultan into activity. Disorder spread in other parts of the Deccan, and the amirs of Malwa, Khandesh and Berar were not slow to follow the example of their compatriots. The troops of Khandesh became mutinous; and 'Imad-al-Mulk, the king's son-in-law, who was in charge of the province, found it difficult to hold

made in the hope that the Deccanis would obtain the assistance of the Malwa forces.

Briggs, II, pp. 187-88.

The MS. of *Firishta* in the Bankipore library has Ismail Makh, brother of Malik Mal Afghan, who was commander of the Malwa army on behalf of the Sultan. folio 319b.

The author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* writes Malik Ismail Makh and describes him as a rustic of Hindustan.

Mr. King in a footnote to his translation of the *Burhān-i-Māsir* (Ind. Ant. 1899, p. 142) gives the various spellings of the word in various MSS. of the *Burhān-i-Māsir*. He says it is مخ in the India office MS. and مایج and مایج in the British Museum MS. Prof. J. N. Sarkar's MS. which has been transcribed from the India office MS. has ماییل Mr. King says, *Firishta* writes مایج (Mugh-a Magian) which he says is the correct reading.

Mugh means (Steingass, *Persian Dictionary*, p. 1278) one of the Magi, a worshipper of fire, an infidel, but here it cannot be taken to mean this. The brother of Ismail was an Afghan and a Musalman and not a Magi. The 'Centurions' would not certainly elevate to the throne an infidel. Mr. King's statement that Mugh is the correct reading and not Makh cannot be accepted.

Barani's Text has Ismail Makh, brother of Malik Yal Afghan. The Lucknow Text of *Firishta* (p. 142) gives the names of both brothers which makes it clear that one of the brothers was called Ismail Makh Afghan and the other Malik Mal Afghan.

The Bankipore MS. of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* has Malik Mal Afghan which, in my opinion, is the correct name.

in check the unruly elements. He left his capital Elichpore⁷⁷ and withdrew to Nadarbār.⁷⁸ The officers, both civil and military, cast off all loyalty, plundered the treasure of the state and openly went over to the party of sedition and revolt. Firishta writes that the Hindu chieftains, who had grievances against the imperial government, found their opportunity of revenge and lent their support to the forces of disorder.⁷⁹ As for the rebellious amirs, they knew the temper of their sovereign well enough and had no misgivings about their inevitable doom. Retractation or submission meant death and they resolved to make a determined stand by entrenching themselves in the fort of Devagiri which they had seized by intimidating the royal garrison. When the news of the revolt reached the Sultan at Broach, he marched with a considerable force to deal with the insurgents. Barani does not give a detailed account of the fighting that took place and simply says that the Sultan attacked and defeated the rebels.⁸⁰ Ibn Batūtah, who gives a detailed account of Qazi Jalal's rebellion in Cambay, relates certain facts regarding the affairs of the *āmirs sadah* at Daulatabad which are corroborated by Firishta, the author of the *Burhan-i-Ma'sir* and other later writers. He says: "Qazi Jalal fled to Nāsir-al-Din bin Malik Mal at Daulatabad and joined his followers. When the Sultan reached there, they collected a large force consisting of 40,000 Afghans,⁸¹ Turks, Hindus, and slaves, who all swore that they would not flee from the field and would oppose the Sultan. When the Sultan came face to face with them he did not unfurl the royal umbrella over his head from which the rebels inferred that the Sultan was not present there. When the battle raged fiercely the umbrella was unfurled on seeing which they took to their heels. Nāsir-al-Din and Qazi Jalal with four hundred men retired to the fort of Deogir which is considered one of the strongest forts in the world. The Sultan stayed at Daulatabad for some time. Deogir is the name of the fort and Daulatabad of the

⁷⁷ Elichpur is situated in Berar in the Nizam's dominions. Hunter, Imperial Gaz. XII, p. 19.

⁷⁸ Nadarbār is the headquarters of the tālukā of the same name in west Khandesh, district Bombay, Imp. Gaz. XVIII, p. 362.

⁷⁹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 514.

⁸⁰ Ibn Batūtah is certainly wrong in calling him Nāsir-al-Din bin Malik Mal. All other historians describe Nāsir-al-Din as the brother of Malik Mal Afghan.

⁸¹ The number given by Firishta is 30,000 but this is not a very material discrepancy.

city. The Sultan sent a message to the rebels asking them to come out of the fortress. They wanted a promise that their lives should be spared, but the king refused, although he sent them supplies of food in order to show his kindness. All this occurred while I was in India."⁸² Among later historians Yahya and Nizam-al-Din Ahmad follow Barani and content themselves merely with recording the defeat of the rebels.⁸³ The historians of the Deccan, 'Ali bin Aziz-ullah Tabātabā, the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* and Firishta both give a better account of the fight between the rebels and the imperialists than their predecessors, and since their sources were reliable, their statements are worthy of acceptance. According to the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir*, Sultan Muhammad Tughluq after having suppressed the violence of the amirs of Gujarat, heard of the rebellion at Daulatabad, and he forthwith proceeded with his army to that place. Ismail Makh arranged his forces in order of battle, but as the Sultan's forces were stronger,⁸⁴ his repeated attacks availed nothing, and he was defeated. The Daulatabadis took to flight and Ismail Makh retired to the fort of Devagiri.⁸⁵ Firishta's account is fuller and seems more consistent with actual facts. When the Sultan heard the news of this revolt at Broach, he marched with a considerable force to deal with the insurgents. Malik Mal Afghan still remained loyal to the Sultan notwithstanding the fact that the rebels had elected his brother as their leader at Daulatabad.⁸⁶ Reinforcements came from other districts and Imad-al-Mulk Sartez joined the Sultan. But in spite of these additions the royal army does not seem to have been large enough to frighten the rebels into immediate submission. Outside Devagiri in the historic plain where the 'Alāi generals had defeated Ram Deva, the hostile forces encountered each other. The Deccan amirs, whose numbers had been considerably swelled by the dis-

⁸² Ibn Batūtah, Paris Ed. pp. 368—69.

⁸³ J. N. Sarkār's MS.

⁸⁴ *Tabqat-i-Akbari*, Calcutta Text, p. 219.

J. N. Sarkar's MS. It says that the Sultan's forces were numerically superior to those of Ismail Makh; Mr. King in his translation of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* (Ind. Ant. 1899, p. 143) gives a different version. He says: "Ismail Makh was ready for him (the Sultan) and formed line of battle in front of the Sultan's army; but the latter being twice again as weak as the followers of Ismail Afghan, however much it attacked and retreated gained no lasting advantage over them."

⁸⁵ *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* MS. p. 18.

⁸⁶ Briggs II, p. 288.

Scott, History of the Deccan, I, p. 7.

affected Hindus and Musalmans of the neighbouring country, organised themselves for an open engagement. Nāsir-al-Din, the chosen king and leader of the "Centurions" advanced to give battle with a force numbering 30,000 men among whom were Afghans, Mughals, Rajputs, and all sorts of adventurers, who were actuated by no higher motives than love of plunder and personal gain. The imperialists led the attack, and though the rebels charged vigorously and at first routed both wings of the Sultan's army, they were at last defeated and driven back.⁸⁷ Nur-al-Din Khan-i-Jahan one of their principal commanders, was wounded and with a contingent of 6,000 men fled from the field of battle.⁸⁸ His flight caused a panic in the Deccan army, and when the soldiers saw the standard of Isma'il sinking down, they lost all heart and thinking that Isma'il had fled from the field were seized with despair and began to disperse. If the imperialists had delivered a vigorous attack upon the enemy at this time, when they were in a state of confusion, the issue might have been decided without further loss, but the approach of darkness necessitated the suspension of fighting, and both parties withdrew to their camps. The Deccanis held a council of war during the night and decided that since it was impolitic to risk another engagement, they must have recourse to other tactics. They wished to avoid an open engagement with the imperialists. Isma'il was to entrench himself in the fort of Dharagarh with a garrison, while Hasan, who had been honoured with the title of Zafar Khan, was to proceed to Kulburga, with a contingent of twelve thousand horsemen to harass the royalists and cut off their supplies, and the other leading amirs were asked to hold their districts under firm control. All our authorities are in agreement with Barani with the only exception that the number of Hasan's horsemen is given by none except Firishta. Hājji-ad-Dabīr clearly writes: "Isma'il after the defeat of his forces shut himself in the fortress. Hasan Kangu, separating himself from him, went in the direction of Bidar passing through Kulburga.

⁸⁷ Firishta says clearly that the rebels defeated the imperialists in the first attack. Even Sultan Muhammad contemplated flight, but all of a sudden the situation improved when "the curse of disloyalty fell upon them." Scott's translation of Firishta's *History of the Deccan*, I, p. 7.

All authorities agree in saying that the rebels were defeated by the royalists. This proves the superiority of the royal armies.

⁸⁸ The Lucknow Text of Firishta has 4,000 men, p. 142.

'Imad-al-Mulk Sarteẓ, the amir of Kulburga, started in pursuit of Hasan, but the latter eluded his grasp."⁸⁹ The author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* who is an earlier authority than Hājji-ad-Dabīr and Firishta writes that the rebels were divided into two sections; some fled to Kulburga, while the others entrenched themselves in the fort of Deogir and Dharagarh.⁹⁰ The author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* does not specifically state the number of Hasan's men, but says that 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Shah with his own particular followers proceeded towards Kulburga. Sultan Muhammad laid siege to the fortress of Daulatabad, and sent Malik 'Imad-al-Din with a select force in pursuit of Sultan 'Ala-al-Din."⁹¹ It is perfectly clear that the 'Centurions' did not dare fight an open battle with the Sultan and their council advised what may apparently seem to be a pusillanimous course. The Sultan became aware of these tactics next morning, when he found the field of battle practically deserted. Hasan, who afterwards won distinction as the founder of the Bahmani dynasty, played a part in this campaign, but hitherto he preferred to remain in the background. Probably he was waiting for a more favourable opportunity, when he could establish his power on a durable basis, and the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* expresses this view clearly when he says that though outwardly, for prudential reasons, on friendly terms with these people, he was only watching for an opportunity of obtaining power.⁹² The royalists now turned to the fort of Devagiri and laid siege to it, while 'Imād-al-Mulk Sarteẓ had gone in the pursuit of Hasan and other rebels. Many residents of Devagiri were sent to Dihli with Nowroz Kārkun by the command of the Sultan. A proclamation announcing the victory was sent to Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayaz to Dihli where it was read from the pulpits, and drums were beaten to give expression to the feeling of universal joy. Meanwhile the siege went on. The beleaguered garrison offered a gallant resistance, and fighting

⁸⁹ Arabic History of Gujarat, I, p. 159.

⁹⁰ *Sirat-i-Firūz Shahi*, Bankipore MS.

The author speaks of two forts, for a little later he says the Sultan laid siege to both forts, and built a new fort in front of one of them so that the rebels might not be able to go out. Ismail Makh had shut himself in the fort of Dharagarh.

⁹¹ Prof. J. N. Sarkar's MS. p. 18.

⁹² Prof. J. N. Sarkar's MS. p. 17.

King's translation in Ind. Ant. 1899, p. 143.

continued ceaselessly.⁹³ The rebellion was suppressed ; and for a while, as Barani writes, the Sultan occupied the royal palace where on the New Year's day the Musalmans of Devagiri came to pay their respects.⁹⁴ The Sultan employed himself in settling the affairs of the Maratha country, but before he had finished " the business of the amirs and the army, the alarming news came that Malik Taghi had rebelled in Gujarat." The siege had not yet terminated, and the author of the *Sirat* writes that " the fort of Dhāragarh was about to fall when fortune cast another die, and the news came that Taghi had rebelled and fled to Tatar Malik, and mastering Nehrwālā and Pattan had killed Shaikh Mu'iz-al-Din."⁹⁵ The statement about Mu'iz-al-Dīn's death is not correct in point of time for Barani who joined the Sultan's suite shortly afterwards, writes that the deputy Mu'iz-al-Dīn was slain, while he, with some of his officers, was seized and put in chains.⁹⁶ Doubtless the governor and his officers were executed by Taghi when the Sultan was at Broach on a subsequent occasion.⁹⁷ Firishta and the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* also agree that the Sultan was suddenly called away from Daulatabad by Taghi's revolt before the conclusion of the siege.

Taghi's rebellion upset the calculations of the Sultan. Barani does not give a detailed account of his early career and straightway

Rebellion of Taghi in Gujarat. begins the history of his revolt and says that Taghi, who was originally a shoemaker and a

slave of Safdar Mulk Sultani, won over the amirs of Gujarat to his side and raised the standard of rebellion. He was joined by many *muqaddams* of Gujarat. He marched to Nehrwālā, killed Malik Muzaffar, the deputy of Mu'iz-al-Dīn, governor of Pattan⁹⁸ and put the latter along with his officers in chains. He then proceeded at the head of the rebels towards

⁹³ Firishta says the siege went on for three months. It was carried on by numerous horse and foot. Fighting went on from day to day and the troops were daily massacred inside and outside the fort. Lucknow Text, p. 142.

⁹⁴ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 515.

Tabqat-i-Akbari, Calcutta Text, p. 219.

⁹⁵ *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bankipore MS.

⁹⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 518.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Calcutta Text, p. 518.

⁹⁸ Pattan called also Anhilwād in northern Baroda was founded in Samvat 802 or A.D. 746 after the destruction of the town of Vallabhi. The town was so called after the name of a cowherd who pointed out the site.

R. C. Ghosh's Literary Remains of Dr. Bhāu Dājī, pp. 138—40.

J.R.A.S., XIII, p. 158.

Cambay, which place he plundered, and then with the aid of the Hindus and Musalmans advanced to Broach and laid siege to it. A fuller account of Taghī's early career is given by the author of the *Sīrat*, who writes in concluding his remarks about the rebellion that his narrative of this well-known event is partly based upon what he saw with his own eyes, and partly on what he heard from his elders.⁹⁹ He writes: 'Taghī was a Turki slave. He was purchased by a Turkish merchant who came to Dihli in the time of Sultan Tughluq Shah from Turkestan. He made several presents to the Sultan among which Taghī was also included. When the presents of the merchant were accepted by the Sultan, the slaves whom he had offered were made over to Safdar Mulk Qirām-i-Sultāni. Taghī was a clever and sharp-witted boy. He was active and energetic and excellently performed the errands that were entrusted to him. After the death of Safdar Mulk, Sultan Muhammad made him superintendent (Shahnā) of the *darbar* (bārgāh) and afterwards appointed him to a rank in the army of Ahmad Ayāz Khwājāh Jahān. One day he committed some offence for which he was ordered to be banished from the country and was taken to Cambay in chains to be shipped to Yaman to Malik-al-Mujāhid by sea. About this time occurred the rebellion of Qazi Jalāl and his confederates of which an account has already been given. Taghī was imprisoned in Cambay which was a large emporium of trade with Ajam and Arabia. In order to obtain his release, he sympathised with the inhabitants of the city and persuaded them to resist the rebels. He exerted himself also to organise resistance and succeeded in repelling the rebels. The Sultan was pleased with his efforts to restore order in the country and when he went to the Durbar, he pardoned him and restored him to his former position.¹⁰⁰ None of the later historians write anything about Taghī's early career. Hājji-ad-Dabīr describes Taghī as a person holding the title of Safdar Mulk, but this is a mistake for Barani and the author of the *Sīrat*, who were contemporaries of Taghī, describe him as a slave of Safdar Mulk Sultan and they are corroborated by Firishta.¹⁰¹ Barani

⁹⁹ *Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi*, Bankipore, MS.

¹⁰⁰ Ibn Batūtah also writes that Taghī was appointed Shahnā-i-bārgāh by the Sultan, II, p. 236.

¹⁰¹ Hājji-ad-Dabīr writes of him as *مملوك التركى طغى المشاطب صفير ملك* which means Taghī whose title was Safdar-al-Mulk. This is a mistake.

Arabic History I, p. 159.

Firishta, Lucknow Text p. 142.

does not specifically state the cause of the rebellion, and all that can be gathered from his narrative is that in an atmosphere of treason Taghī also like many other adventurers felt inclined to rebel against the imperial authority. Later writers who closely follow Barani render no help. But the author of the *Sīrat* mentions the circumstances under which Taghī was compelled to take up arms.¹⁰² When the Sultan went to Daulatabad to suppress the rising of the 'Centurions' which finally culminated in Isma'il Makh's elevation to royal dignity, he left Tātār Malik Bahadur Sultani in charge of Āsāwal and asked him to look after the affairs of that place. The Malik was commanded to assist the governor of Gujarat, Shaikh Mu'iz-al-Din in realising the revenue and organising the royal forces. Taghi, who was in Gujarat had an Arab horse and a Gujarati maid-servant. Tatar Malik Bahadur wished to obtain possession of the horse and the girl whose beauty probably captivated him. Taghi refused to give, and Tatar Malik began to tease him in various ways. He always humiliated and reprimanded him and held out threats that he would report his wickedness to the Sultan. Taghi could not bear these daily tortures and alarmed for his safety he broke out into rebellion.

As soon as the Sultan heard the news of the revolt, he suspended the settlement of Maharastra and proceeded towards Gujarat. In order to prevent the rebels from regaining their former position of advantage he appointed certain officers to look after the affairs in Devagiri. These were Khudāwand Zādah Qiwām-al-Dīn Shaikh Burhān Bilgramī whom Barani writes as Balarāmī and Malik Jauhar surnamed Zahīrr-al-Jayūsh. The Sultan thought that the rebellion of the 'Centurions' at Devagiri was not so serious as the disturbance in Gujarat, which, if neglected, might assume dangerous dimensions. Probably, the Sultan did not correctly estimate the strength which the *amirs sadah* had gathered at Devagiri. He did his utmost to restore order, but the stars in their courses fought against him, and every attempt that he made to put down disturbances resulted in failure. When he was in Gujarat on a previous occasion, he had energetically striven to restore order and peace, but the 'Centurions' had stirred up strife again, and the sediment that lies hidden beneath the lowest strata of society had again come to the surface during the period of turmoil. The sense of injured pride and per-

¹⁰² Bankipore, MS.

sonal cupidity led many a man to join the revolutionary movement that had begun in the country. There were nobles and chiefs who had old accounts to settle with Muhammad's government and desired vengeance for their alleged insults ; there were others, the scum of the population, whose evil tendencies urged them to create a field for their ambition by overthrowing the established order. This explains the ease with which a low-born man like Taghī could gather a large following and enlist under his banner the amirs of Gujarat as well as many of the Hindu chiefs. At the head of a large force Taghī advanced upon Nehrwālā, killed Malik Muzaffar, the deputy governor, and imprisoned the governor along with some of his officials. Emboldened by this success, he marched upon Cambay and levied a heavy blackmail upon the population of the city and having thus augmented his resources, he proceeded towards Broach with the combined army of the Hindus and Musalmans. They invested the fort and had sharp encounters with the local officers who bravely defended themselves. The Sultan marched in great haste towards Broach ; the rebellious Deccanis started in pursuit of him, massacred his men and plundered the royal treasure. Nature conspired with man to multiply the difficulties of this unfortunate ruler and famine and high prices considerably added to his anxiety at this time. But notwithstanding these hardships, he did not give up his determination to stamp out rebellion, and with his army encamped on the bank of the Narbada. He was greatly perturbed by the disorders that had broken out on all sides as is evidenced by the conversation which he had with Zia Barani, the historian, who had been sent with messages of congratulation by Firuz, Malik Kabīr, and Ahmad Ayāz, his trusted representatives at Dihli. The historian, who joined him when he had moved one or two stages from Ghāti Sākūn, towards Broach, writes that the Sultan regretted the indulgence which he had shown to the 'Centurions' of Devagiri, Gujarat and Broach. Taghī's infidelity stirred his indignation and he observed ; " This rebel Taghī is my slave ; if I had executed him or sent him as a memorial to the king of Aden, this revolt would have never broken out." Not gifted with the analytical turn of mind which 'Ala-al-Din had possessed, he was unable to find out the real causes of the widespread insurrections in his empire, and the historian wanted to remind him that conciliation and not coercion was the only remedy to win back the confidence of the people but he knew that the Sultan who was deeply

incensed was not inclined to listen to counsels of prudence. As soon as Taghī learnt that the royal army was encamped on the banks of the Narbada, he left Broach with a party of three hundred horsemen and withdrew to Cambay.¹⁰³ The Sultan immediately despatched Malik Yūsuf Bughrā at the head of two thousand horse with a few noblemen in pursuit of the rebel. By rapid marches Yūsuf Bughrā reached Cambay in 4 or 5 days and gave battle to Taghī, but the latter inflicted a sharp defeat upon him and put his troops to flight. Several of the amirs lost their lives in the encounter and Yūsuf Bughrā himself was among the slain. On hearing of this disaster, the Sultan immediately moved to the scene of action, but before he could reach Cambay, news came that Taghī had fled to Āsāwal. Pressed hard by the imperialists, the rebel went over to Nehrwālā where he revenged himself upon the local governor whom he put to death with a number of his officers who had attempted to check his advance.¹⁰⁴

The Sultan arrived at Āsāwal¹⁰⁵ where he stayed for nearly a month on account of the rains and the illness of his horses. Taghī profited by this inaction of the Sultan; he marched towards Āsāwal and arrived at the town of Kādī.¹⁰⁶ The Sultan lost no time, and notwithstanding the rains, he started in pursuit of the rebel and

¹⁰³ The author of the *Sīrat* says that Taghī, on hearing that the Sultan had landed at Kalesar (کاليسر) on the bank of the Narbada, left the fort of Broach and went to Kambayat. No other authority mentions the name of the place as Kalesar. It is probably Aklesar or Atlesar which is mentioned in the Sarkar of Broach in the *Ain-i-Akbari*.

Jarrett, II, p. 255.

¹⁰⁴ Baranī, Calcutta Text, p. 518. It was at this stage that the governor was murdered. The *Sīrat* is wrong in saying that the Sultan heard at Devagiri that Taghī had rebelled and had killed Shaikh Mui'z-al-Dīn, the governor of Nehrwālā. As a matter of fact Taghī had seized the governor and put him to death while the Sultan was still at Broach.

¹⁰⁵ Āsāwal was situated in 23°11' 72° 36'. On its site was built the modern town of Ahmadabad. Bombay Gaz. Vol. I, pt. I, p. 231.

¹⁰⁶ Baranī (Calcutta Text, p. 518) writes Kara bitī.

Firishta (Lucknow Text, p. 142) has Karī or Garī.

Karī is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the Sarkar of Ahmadabad.

Jarrett, II, p. 253.

Baranī says the Sultan marched from Āsāwal and reached Karā bitī on the third or fourth day. It appears from this that the town referred to is not Karī but Kādī which is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the Sarkar of Broach. (Jarret, II, p. 255).

reached Kādī on the third or fourth day. Taghī saw no other alternative but to fight an open engagement. He made the amirs of his party dead drunk and under the influence of strong liquor "with their lives on their sleeves and their naked swords in their hands" they fearlessly rushed upon their enemies. Fully realising that defeat meant disgrace and death, Taghī's men fought with a courage worthy of a better cause, but the trained elephants of the emperor marched against them and the ranks of the rebels were broken up. Unused to such a method of warfare, which baffled all their military tactics, the nonplussed amirs were completely defeated and they fled towards Nehrwālā in confusion. The author of the *Sīrat* describes the scene of this battle at Takalpur and says that the Sultan himself superintended the campaign and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the followers of Taghī, a great many of whom were massacred by the imperialists. All writers agree in saying that the engagement was a well-contested one, and the success of the imperialists was due mainly to the use of elephants who rendered the valour of Taghī's men practically useless. The rebels suffered heavy losses; about four or five hundred of them were made captives and finally put to the sword, and all their baggage was seized.¹⁰⁷ The rout of Taghī gave a brief interval of repose to the imperialists and the Sultan at once sent Khizr, the son of the late Yūsuf Bughrā with a force to chase the fugitives.¹⁰⁸ The reason for the appointment of this young man at such a critical moment is given by the author of the *Sīrat* who writes that the Sultan entrusted him with such an important command in the hope that he would fight with all his vigour in order to avenge the death of his father, who had been slain by Taghī. But the young general who had no experience of war was affrighted; he proceeded slowly and before he reached Patan, Taghī had left the place. Driven from pillar to post by his relentless pursuers, Taghī hastily went to Nehrwālā, and having collected all his men and dependents, he started with his family for Kant barāhī,¹⁰⁹ from where he opened negotiations with the Rai of Girnar and implored him to render assistance. This was probably refused and the rebel who had lost nothing of his high-spirited courage, in spite of the vicissitudes he had suffered, left Girnar and went over to

¹⁰⁷ *Sīrat*, Bankipore MS.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ Barani writes Kant barāhī. Calcutta Text, p. 519.

Thatta and Damrīlā in Sindh,¹¹⁰ where he sought refuge with the Sumrah chieftains who had also rebelled against the authority of the Sultan. Taghī moved from one place to another with great rapidity, when he failed to obtain the support and sympathy of the local chiefs.¹¹¹ His ultimate flight to Damrīlā in Sindh is mentioned by Barani and he is corroborated by the author of the *Sirat*. All authorities agree more or less as to the order of Taghī's march. According to Nizam-al-Din he left Patan, as soon as he came to know that Khizr bin Yusuf was marching in pursuit of him, and crossing the Rann he went to Kāntā in Kutch and, after halting there for some days, fled to Thatta in Sindh.¹¹² Firishta who probably copied Nizam-al-Din corroborates him by saying that the rebels crossed the Rann and fled into Kāntā by way of Kutch.¹¹³

Though Taghī was still at bay, the Sultan obtained a brief interval of repose which he utilised in re-establishing his authority in Gujarat. He arrived at Nehrwālā and alighted on the platform of the tank called Sahsilang. The presence of the Sultan had a remarkable effect upon the popular mind; the *ranas*, *muqaddams*, and *mahants* (priests of Hindū shrines) all came to pay homage, and the Sultan reciprocated in a befitting manner their expression of loyalty. The country was cleared of rebels, and once again order and peace was established and the inhabitants, who had been driven away from their homes owing to the state of general insecurity that pervaded the land, returned to their normal occupations, and oppression came to an end. The dislocation of the finances caused by civil war was put an end to and the vassal chiefs paid their tribute as before. Some of Taghī's followers, who knew that the Sultan was not the man to spare them, whatever the time and trouble it might cost

¹¹⁰ Damrīlā is one of the puzzles of the Sind record. Major Raverty identifies it with the ruins found by Ibn Batūtah near Lahari, an identification made impossible by the later mention of Damrīlā in the account of Taghī's rebellion. In another place at Shahrpur in the Shahbandar sub-division, where local traditions certainly still point to the *debris* of residences of Sumrah chiefs.

Abbot, Sind, p. 53.

¹¹¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 519.

Sirat, Bankipore, MS.

¹¹² Tabqāt, Calcutta Text, p. 221.

¹¹³ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 142.

him to catch hold of them, fled to the chief of Mandal-Patri¹¹⁴ to seek his protection. But the Rana, who understood his interest well enough, showed them no quarter; he had them killed and sent their heads to the Sultan. Their wives and children were also seized, and for this act of fidelity the chief was granted lands as Jagirs and robes of honour as a mark of royal favour, and was honoured with an invitation to visit the imperial court. The perseverance of the emperor at last had its effect; Gujarat once more reverted to normal conditions of life, and the imperial authority was fully established. But the misfortunes of the Sultan were not at an end. While engaged in settling the affairs of Gujarat, he received the news of the successful revolt of the amirs of Devagiri and with Taghī fleeing before him, still hostile and defiant, and the 'Centurions' of the Deccan behind, trying to establish themselves as an independent power, Muhammad found himself in a situation of great embarrassment. It needed extraordinary vigour and statesmanship to deal with the situation. Muhammad, though possessed of grim resolve and an inflexible will, lacked statesmanship and a sympathetic frame of mind. His weak generalship and failing judgment brought about one failure after another, until at last his inability to organise and summon to his aid the forces that lay around him, made it impossible for him to hold his ground against his avowed enemies.

It was during these disorders in the Deccan that the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom was laid. The small principality created out of the fief of Daulatabad developed formidable strength in course of time, challenged the neighbouring Hindu power and aspired to bring the whole of the Deccan under its rule. The origin of Hasan Kāngū, the founder of the dynasty, is a matter of considerable interest, and it will not be out of place to discuss the various views expressed on the subject by writers on Indian History. The story of Hasan's origin related by Firishta savours of romance. According to him Hasan in his early years was employed in the service of Gangū, a Brahman astrologer of Dihli who enjoyed the patronage of Prince

Hasan Kangu—
origin.

¹¹⁴ Mandal and Patri are two towns immediately to the east of the Little Rann. Mandal is in 23° 17' N. and 71° 58' E. and Patri is in 23° ** N. and 71° 50' E. Bombay Gaz. IV, p. 345.

Mandal and Patri are mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as parts of Great Jhalwārah.

Jarrett, *Ain-i-Akbari*, II, p. 242.

Muhammad Tughluq. Pressed hard by adverse circumstances, Hasan begged of Gangū to give him some work, whereupon the latter gave him a pair of oxen, two labourers and a plot of waste land near Dihli. Hasan took to agriculture, and one day while his labourer was ploughing the land, the plough stuck up into a chain which was tied to a vessel full of gold and silver coins. Hasan, with perfect honesty, carried the vessel, wrapped in a piece of cloth, to Gangū's house at night and related to him the story. Gangū, pleased with his honesty, recommended him to Muhammad Tughluq who called him into his presence and rewarded him for his honesty. The incident was communicated to Sultan Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq who showed much kindness to Hasan and enrolled him among his amirs. One day the Brahman cast his horoscope and told him that he would attain to greatness at some future date. He made him promise that if ever his prophecy came true he would associate his name with his own. Hasan readily accepted the suggestion, and it was in consequence of this promise that he styled himself Hasan Kāngū or Gangū Bahmani.¹¹⁵ Firishta in the course of his narrative refers to certain historical works which he consulted regarding the origin of Hasan Kāngū. He writes: "The *Tuhfatuh-al-Salātin*, *Sirāj-al-Tawārikh*, and *Bahmannama Deccani* have not said anything clearly regarding the origin of 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Kāngū Bahmani. But in some places where the authors of these works have pronounced a eulogy upon him, they have traced his descent from the Kiyānī kings of Persia, and in other places they have traced his pedigree to Bahman and Isfandiyār. He is described as a scion of the house of Bahman and an illuminator of his palace—things that go to prove his descent from Isfandiyār." As regards *Bahmannamah* Firishta doubts its authenticity and says that the work was not written by Shaikh Āzarī to whom its authorship is ascribed, for the verses which he has cited from it do not appear to be from the pen of a practised master of the poetical art. Besides, he says, he has never come across the poet's *nom-de-plume* under which he wrote. But he adds that on one occasion when he was in the service of Murtaza Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar, he saw in the royal library a pamphlet entitled 'An enquiry into the origin and descent of Sultan 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Kāngū Bahmani'; which contained a genealogy of Hasan closely

¹¹⁵ Firishta, Lucknow Text, pp. 273-74.

resembling that given by the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir*. Firishta is not satisfied with these explanations of Hasan's origin and sticks to his original view that Hasan styled himself Bahmani because of his connection with the Brahman astrologer of Dihli, whose name he coupled with his own out of sheer gratefulness. Firishta's version is reproduced by Khwafi Khan in his *Muntakhab-al-lubāb* with the only difference that he alters the date of foundation to the 4th Rabi-'al-Sani 747 A.H. (25th July, 1346) and he is uncritically accepted by all later writers. The historians of the last generation followed Firishta without taking pains to examine the truth of his statements with the result that the Hindu origin of the dynasty has become one of the current coins of Indian History. Even in our own times in many a text-book on Indian history the old story of Hasan's Brahmanical connection is repeated with amazing simplicity illustrating the truth of Sir Henry Maine's dictum that error is the hardest to combat when it has spread over a wider area. Sir Wolseley Haig cited good evidence to prove that his account partook of a myth and that Hasan was not the servant of any Brahman astrologer, eking out his little income by practising agriculture, but a descendant of the kings of Persia. Firishta does not mention the source from which he borrowed this account of Hasan's early career.¹¹⁶ Probably he relied upon some tradition which he found prevalent in the Maratha country invented by the opponents of the Bahmanids to belittle the importance of the dynasty by describing its founder as a poor man depending for his subsistence upon the generosity of a Brahman. But even the traditional accounts do not agree in all respects. No Muhammadan historian of repute except Khwafi Khan—and he is a much later authority—gives Firishta's version. There is the testimony of the author of the *Burhan-i-Mā'sir* who is a contemporary of Firishta and who had equally good sources of information at his command. 'Alī Tabātabā commenced his history in 1591 A.D. as is indicated by the title which is a chronogram.¹¹⁷ There are many discrepancies between the accounts of 'Alī and Firishta, but the evidence of coins and inscriptions and other independent authorities corroborates the former and not the latter. 'Alī Tabātabā makes the following

¹¹⁶ Lucknow Text, p. 282.

¹¹⁷ The work was begun in 1,000 A. H. (1591 A.D.). The Chronogram gives the date of the commencement of the work.

prefatory observations at the commencement of his work :¹¹⁸ 'Historians have written strange things about him (Hasan). I have recorded the version which is given by the author of the '*Āyūn-al-Tawārīkh* and which is corroborated by all the historians of Hindustan. It has been proved that he was descended from Bahman and Isfandiyār, though in some books of genealogies which the author of these pages has seen, his origin is thus described :—

"Sultan Hasan Bahman Shah bin Kaikaus Muhammad bin 'Alī bin Hasan bin Bahman bin Mamun bin Salām bin Nūh bin Ibrahim bin Nāsir bin Mansur bin Nuh bin Nuh bin Nuh bin Sāni bin Bahram bin Shāhrīn bin Sādīn bin Nūsīn, bin Dāūd bin Bahrām Gūr.¹¹⁹ But God alone knows the truth. In consequence of his descent the king was known as Sultan 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Shah Bahmani.'" The historian further relates that 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Shah was led by considerations of expediency to conceal his illustrious descent in the time of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq whose service he joined at Dihli. At that time one day Shaikh Nizam-al-Din Aulia gave a general feast which was also attended by the Sultan. Just at the time when Sultan Muhammad left the door of the Shaikh, Sultan 'Ala-al-Din Hasan reached there, upon which the Shaikh, with the help of his inward light observed to his servant: "Today one king has just gone out and another has arrived at the door. Bring him in." The servants of the Shaikh obeyed his command. He received him with great courtesy and communicated to him the auspicious news by his own mouth. It is said that the Shaikh gave him a loaf which he placed on the top of the forefinger of his right hand and gave it to (Sultan) 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Shah saying that it was the canopy of sovereignty. Thus Hasan began to cherish the hope of attaining to royalty and ever since his return from the Shaikh's dinner, the idea of royalty became firmly fixed in his mind. When disorders broke out in Muhammad Tughluq's empire, 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Shah with a party of brave men—Afghan youths and others—started from the Deccan and reached Daulatabad.¹²⁰ We may discard without hesitation the legendary account given by the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* and refuse to take cognisance of spiritual divinations, but the pedigree given by him to Hasan finds

¹¹⁸ Professor J. N. Sarkar's MS. pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹²⁰ Prof. J. N. Sarkar's MS. p. 8.

confirmation in other trustworthy authorities. From Firishta's predecessors as well as contemporaries we have nothing to support the romantic story of Hasan's early life, and the evidence of coins and inscriptions proves that the title Bahmani was assumed not because Hasan wanted to honour his Brahman patron. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad in his *Tabqat-i-Akbari* writes :—

“ ‘Ala-al-Din Hasan who is known by the name of Hasan Gangū or Kāngū, was one of the leading soldiers of that country, and in concert with a party of miscreants and rebellious persons in the capital of the Deccan raised the standard of sovereignty and took the title of Sultan ‘Ala-al-Din. Sultan Muhammad, owing to the rebellion in Gujarat, could not get an opportunity to suppress him and during the same period died in the neighbourhood of Thatta. The glory of the Bahmani kingdom continued for 139 years from the beginning of 748 to 887 A.H. which is the date of the accession of Muhammad Shah and since Hasan Kāngū called himself a descendant of Bahman bin Isfandiyar, “ the title of Bahmani has been applied to his heirs and descendants.”¹²¹

Ahmad Amīn Rāzī, the author of the *Haft Iqlim* basing his information upon the *‘Ayūn-al-tawārikh* observes :—

“ The first dynasty was that of the kings of Kulburga. The founder of it was ‘Ala-al-Din Hasan. As the author of the *‘Ayūn-al-tawārikh* traces his pedigree to Bahman bin Isfandiyār, so as a matter of course the dynasty became famous under the cognomen Bahmani.”¹²² Hājji-ad-Dabīr who is an independent authority and whose sources of information were excellent, writes : “ The army went over to Hasan and Isma‘il surrendered the fortress to him and acknowledged him as king and offered him homage. The *Khutbah* was read in his name and the royal canopy was spread over him. He assumed the title of ‘Ala-al-Din Bahman Shah, because he called himself a descendant of Bahman bin Isfandiyār, the king of Persia. Hasan Kāngu had come to Dihli in the time of Tughluq Shah and one day when he waited upon His Holiness Shaikh Nizam-al-Din Aulia, the latter communicated to him the auspicious news of his elevation to royal

¹²¹ *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*, Bankipore MS. f. 361.

Lucknow Text, p. 604.

¹²² Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. (D/326), p. 48, (D/327), p. 31. The Bankipore MS. agrees with the Asiatic Society Text, but it makes the mistake of assigning to Hasan a reign of 21 years.

dignity in future. From that day Hasan Kāngu cherished the hope of kingship and made efforts to realise that hope until at last the desire of his heart was fulfilled."¹²³ The author of the *Tazkīrat-al-Mulūk* gives an account of Hasan's origin, which is a hybrid combination of history and romance, and which has so little historical value that it is hardly worthy of reproduction.¹²⁴ Hasan is described as a youth of high descent for whom a great dignity was predicted by a Brahman called Gangū Pandit who was in the service of a certain Shaikh Muhammad Sirāj Junaidi. When Hasan attained to royalty he made Gangū Pandit his minister in accordance with the agreement into which they had entered prior to Hasan's elevation to kingly office. The *Tazkīrat-al-Mulūk* is evidently a tertiary authority and need not detain us long, although it is a matter of surprise why its author failed to take notice of what had been written by previous writers on the subject, Firishta included. He did not care to check his information by a reference to such a well-known work as the *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*. Murtaza Husain better known as Allah Yār 'Usmānī Bilgrāmī, the author of the *Hadīqat-al-Aqālīm*, which is a later compilation based upon the system of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm*, writes that the person who made himself master of the Deccan towards the close of Muhammad Tughluq's reign was Hasan Kāngū. He was one of the servants of Muhammad Tughluq and was enrolled among the *amirs sadah*. He rebelled along with the 'Centurions' of the Deccan and brought that country under his control. He called himself a descendant of Bahman bin Isfandiyār bin Kai Gushtāsp and for this reason his successors came to be known as Bahmani. Murtazā Husain refers also to the story of the Brahman astrologer related by Firishta and says that it is current among the people that the word Bahman is in reality Brahman which has been altered by use.¹²⁵ 'Alī Tabātabā, Hājji-ad-Dabīr and Firishta are very near each other in point of time, but the first two differ from Firishta as to the origin of the Bahmani dynasty. They are

¹²³ Arabic History of Gujarat, I, p. 150.

¹²⁴ King's translation of the *Tazkīrat-al-Mulūk* in the Indian Antiquary, 1899, pp. 153—55.

¹²⁵ *Hadīqat-al-Aqālīm*, Bankipore MS. f. 51.

The author of the work writes (حسن كنگرۃ). He does not refer to Firishta. From his narrative it appears that he did not attach much importance to the popular story of the Brahmanic origin of the dynasty and refers to it only as a secondary matter.

supported by the authorities that preceded them, which shows that from the time of Muhammad Tughluq down to the days when Firishta began his history no one had said a word about the Brahmanical origin of the dynasty. Zia Barani, Yahyā, Nizam-al-Din Ahmad, Amīn Ahmad Rāzī and Badāoni say nothing about it; on the contrary, all of them except Barani, who is silent on the point, assert that Hasan assumed the title of Bahman Shah and not of Bahmani and Nizam-al-Din Ahmad and Amīn Ahmad Rāzī positively describe him as a descendant of Bahman, the king of Persia. It is difficult to set aside the authority of such a judicious writer as the author of the *Tabqāt*.

The title of Bahman Shah which Hasan assumed has nothing to do with the word Brahman. He does not call himself Bahmani as is proved by numismatic and inscriptional evidence. The contemporary inscription dated 754 A.H. (1353 A.D.) which forms a part of the inscription in the fortress of Kulburga, the capital of the Bahmani kings, clearly mentions his title as 'Alāudduniya Wal-Dīn Bahman Shah.¹²⁶ The evidence of coins tends to prove the same thing. The superscription on his coins¹²⁷ is 'Al-Sultan al-āzam 'Alaidduniyā Wal-dīn Abū-al-Muzaffar Bahman Shāh al Sultan' and his son is styled on his coins as Muhammad Shah bin Bahman Shah¹²⁸ which clearly shows that Hasan never called himself Bah-

¹²⁶ The inscription is reproduced in the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1907-8 (p. I.), with an English translation by Major (afterwards Sir Wolseley) Haig.

¹²⁷ J.A.S.B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement No. XXXVII No. 23 and No. 24, coin No. 3 and Nos. 4, 5.

J.A.S.B., 1909, Numismatic Supplement No. XI, p. 309.

Haig's article in J.A.S.B., 1904, pt. I.

Extra No., pp. 1—15.

¹²⁸ J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 310.

J.A.S.B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement. No. XXXVII, No. 25, Coin Nos. 8, 10, 12.

'Ala-al-Din Hasan styles himself as Bahman Shah. His coins do not bear the cognomen Bahmanī. The latter word appears for the first time on a coin of his son Muhammad Shah I.

Coin No. 6, J.A.S.B., 1923 N.S. XXXVII, No. 24.

Obverse.

سلطان
العهد والزمان
المحكمي مدته رسول
الرحمن

Reverse.

بهمني
حسن
محكم

mani. The title of Bahman Shah was adopted by him not out of gratefulness to his former benefactor and patron, but to show to the world which might have levelled against him the charge of being an upstart rebel that he could claim a lofty pedigree. The genealogy to which the author of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* refers represents an attempt on the part of contemporary writers to find a high lineage for one who had established a kingdom in the teeth of the opposition of the mighty empire of Dihli. The persecutions of Hasan and his relentless wars against the Hindus militate against the theory that he owed his rise to a Brahman. Assuming for the sake of argument Firishta's statement that Hasan employed the Brahman as his minister¹²⁹ in fulfilment of his promise we fail to see why this Brahman minister never exerted himself to stay the hand of oppression which was raised against his co-religionists by one who owed so much to his favour. The author of the *Burhan* dwells at length upon the battles and sieges of 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Bahman Shah, which resulted in the destruction and spoliation of the Hindus. Soon after the preliminary political organisation of his newly founded kingdom, he sent 'Imād-al-Mulk and Mubārak Khan on a plundering expedition as far as the river Tapti, devastating the country of the Hindus and striking off the heads of idol-worshippers whom he found.¹³⁰ It is incredible that a Muhammadan in the 14th century when hatred of the idolators was common should name his dynasty after a Brahman, however deep his gratitude to him for his kindness and patronage. No Musalman will adopt a title in this age which will indicate his obligations to a Brahman, one of that very class whose members were described by a contemporary of his, a bigot and a mediocrity at Dihli a few years later as the "very keys of the chamber of idolatry." Besides, if the name is derived from Brahman why does it not occur in its uncorrupted Sanskrit form. It is extremely strange in view of the fact that Gangu or Kāngu, the Dihli astrologer, whom Firishta has immortalised, was a Sanskrit scholar acquainted with the language. There is nowhere even an accidental slip in the historical works and the coin legends and inscriptions of the Bahmani Kings. The word Bahman for Brahman cannot be a mistake of scribes or calligraphists, for Persian writers of the 14th

¹²⁹ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 278.

¹³⁰ King's translation of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir*, Ind. Ant. 1899, pp. 144-45.

century in the Deccan were too well-acquainted with the word and the class which it denoted to make such a mistake. In Persian Brahman is always written as براهمن and it is unlikely that through frequency of use Brahmani should have become Bahmani. In an age of calligraphy, when professional experts showed astonishing skill in correct writing, it is difficult to believe that the Deccan calligraphists, who wrote inscriptions, and who had seen the exquisite coins of Muhammad Tughluq, issued from the mint of Devagiri in their own country, should have been so careless as to persist in the erroneous spelling of a very important word which related to the patron of the founder of the dynasty. Hasan never called himself Bahmani, but even if we assume for the sake of argument that Bahman Shah was derived from Brahman, it is strange that Gangū who was employed as minister in the financial department, and who knew the correct form of the word should have allowed its perversion. The conduct of the successors of 'Ala-al-Din Hasan Bahman Shah, the ruthless wars they waged against the Hindus, the wholesale massacres of the Hindu population, which they brought about, though not conclusive evidence of the non-Brahmanical origin of the dynasty, lend support to the view expressed by Nizam-al-Din Ahmad, 'Alī Tabātabā and Hājī-ad-Dabīr whose authority is in several respects higher than that of Firishta.

The word Kāngū is a puzzle. Barani, Nizam-al-Din Ahmad, Hājī-ad-Dabīr and Firishta all write Hasan Kāngū, but the India office MS. of the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* and the Asiatic Society of Bengal MS. of the *Haft Iqlīm* have حسن کا کړی and حسن کا کړی respectively. Firishta clearly says that Kāngū is Gangū, the name of the Brahman astrologer of Dihli.¹³¹ It is difficult to decide in the present state of our knowledge with precision what Kāngū denotes. Maulvi 'Abdul Wali suggests that it is a corrupted form of Kai Kāūs which seems a far-fetched suggestion, scarcely worthy of acceptance. The only other histories in which such a name is mentioned are Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif's *Tarīkh-i-Firūz Shahi* and Yahya's *Tarīkh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. 'Afif, who has no clear idea of the geography of the Deccan, muddles up things when he says: "When Sultan Muhammad Shah died and Sultan Firuz succeeded, his commands were sent into Ma'bar, but the people of that country broke out into rebellion and going to Daulatabad, they made Qarbat Hasan

¹³¹ J.A.S.B., 1909, p. 483.

Kāngū king of Ma'bar."¹³² He goes on to add that the man who was thus elevated to kingly dignity appeared, decked out hand and foot with female ornaments, and made himself notorious by puerile actions.¹³³ Now the question arises who was this Qarbat Hasan Kāngū? He is certainly a different person from Hasan Kāngū, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. Whoever the person described by 'Afif, it is clear from this that Kāngū could form part of a Muhammadan name. But in the 15th century Kāngū is mentioned as a Hindu name also. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* mentions one Sadhāran Kāngū, an infidel, whose sons conspired with some Musalmans to take the life of Mubarak Shah Sayyid.¹³⁴ The material hitherto available throws no light on the problem and for the present we have to rest content with the explanation that Hasan Kāngū is the original name of the founder of the Bahmani Kingdom.

The Sultan had been busily occupied with the revolt of Taghī and the restoration of order in Gujarat so that Daulatabad had almost been neglected. At the time of his departure for Gujarat he had left his generals to deal

~~~~~The rebellion at Daulatabad—The foundation of the Bahmani Kingdom.

with the rebels who had entrenched themselves in the fort of Devagiri under the leadership of Isma'il to defend themselves against attack. The

fort was besieged, but the rebels stubbornly fought against the besiegers and baffled all their attempts to reduce it. 'Imād-al-Mulk Sarteẓ had been despatched by the Sultan to deal with Hasan Kāngū who had fled towards Kulburga with a considerable force to harass the imperial army. During the Sultan's absence in Gujarat, the rebels increased their forces, as is shown by the fact that Isma'il was able to despatch five thousand horse to the aid of Hasan who had received the title of Zafar Khan. Taghī's continued defiance and the Sultan's inability to crush him encouraged the malcontents in their designs, and they decided to make a united effort to establish their power. While the imperialists were concentrating themselves in Gujarat, 'Imād-al-Mulk, who was encamped at Bidar had in Zafar Khan a foe worthy of his steel who aimed at royalty and

<sup>132</sup> 'Afif, Cal. Text, ' p. 261.

~~~~~Qarbat Hasan Kangu ( قربت حسن کنگو ) is stated to be king of Ma'bar by 'Afif.

¹³³ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* MS.

It is written in Prof. J. N. Sarkar's MS. as Sadhāran Kāngū.

¹³⁴ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS.

whom no threat or demonstration of military force could intimidate into submission. Barani summarily disposes of the rebellion and writes: 'While the Sultan was engaged in settling the country of Gujarat and was about to enter Nehrwālā, news came from Devagiri that Hasan Kāngū and other rebels, who had fled before the royal army on the day of battle had attacked and slain 'Imād-al-Mulk and scattered his army and that Khudāwand Zādah Qiwām-al-Dīn, Malik Jauhar, and Zahīr-al-Jayūsh had gone from Devagiri towards Dhar. It was further reported that Hasan Kāngū had entered Devagiri and seized the royal canopy, and the insurgents, who had shut themselves in the fort of Dhārāgarh, had descended and created a disturbance in Devagiri.¹³⁵ This event has been differently described by different historians. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writes that the Daulatabad army under the leadership of Hasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding, attacked and slew 'Imād-al-Mulk Sartezi,¹³⁶ and he is followed by 'Abdul Qādir Badāonī who says:—"the army which had fled from Daulatabad under the leadership of Hasan Kāngū, coming out of hiding, attacked 'Imād-al-Mulk Sartezi. 'Imād-al-Mulk was slain, and his army fled to Daulatabad and sought shelter there, and Malik Jauhar with Khudāwand Zādah Qiwām-al-Dīn and other Amirs, not being able to withstand Hasan in Daulatabad, evacuated those districts and made for Dharānagar."¹³⁷ The *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* which is pre-eminently a history of the Deccan and the author of which is a contemporary of Firishta positively asserts that when 'Ala-al-Din Hasan came to know that the enemies were pursuing him, he sat in ambush and when their forces came near, he made a surprise attack in which the royal army was defeated and 'Imād-al-Mulk was slain.¹³⁸ Against this we have the testimony of Hājji-ad-Dabīr, who says that when the Sultan left for Broach, Hasan got his opportunity and a fierce fight raged between him and the imperialists in which 'Imād-al-Mulk Sartezi was killed and his companions fled into the mountains.¹³⁹ He is supported by Firishta who gives a detailed account

¹³⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 520.

¹³⁶ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* MS.

¹³⁷ Ranking, Al-Badāonī, I, p. 314, Badāonī (Cal. I, p. 236) writes Dhārānagar which is incorrect. Dhārānagar is Dhar in Mālwa.

¹³⁸ J. N. Sarkar's MS. p. 19.

Ind. Ant. 1899, p. 143.

¹³⁹ Arabic History of Gujarāt, I, p. 159.

of the battle and the particulars which he relates irresistibly lead to the conclusion that preparations were made on both sides and that the engagement was a hotly contested one.¹⁴⁰ Whom are we to believe in the face of this conflicting evidence? It is true, none of these historians is a contemporary writer, but they are all excellent secondary authorities whose sources of information are found to be generally reliable. A careful examination of their accounts decides the issue in favour of Firishta, who had probably consulted them all except one, and whose narrative clearly shows that Hasan had a large force at his command and consequently had no need to lie in ambush and deliver a surprise attack. Besides, Barani, who is a contemporary writer, does not mention any sudden attack and the author of the *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*, follows Barani and makes no allusion to the surprise attack by Hasan. Their omission, though not a conclusive argument, lends support to the view of Firishta. The author of the *Tabqāt* simply says that after the departure of the Sultan the rebels gathered together again, routed the army of 'Imād-al-Mulk and killed him.¹⁴¹ Firishta's account, detailed as it is, throws much light upon the relative positions of the two parties. Hasan had already under his command 20,000 men who had followed him towards Bidar and Kulburga. But he felt that this force was inadequate to oppose the enemy who had proceeded to the field of battle with great pomp and show. For 20 days both parties dug trenches all around in order to fortify themselves and neither had the courage to begin the attack. Meanwhile Hasan got reinforcements from the Raja of Telingana who sent a quota of 15,000 foot from Kaulās¹⁴² and from Nāsir-al-Din at Daulatabad who despatched 5,000 horsemen together with the royal treasure which he had seized during the rebellion. When Hasan (Zafar Khan) was thus strengthened, he appointed Saif-al-Din Ghori to organise his forces. 'Imād-al-Mulk too was not idle ; he arranged the right and left wings of his army in order. When the two armies encountered each other, a fierce battle raged from morning till midday in which, according to the historians, the bravest warriors of both sides were killed and the earth became red with blood. 'Imād-al-Mulk was

¹⁴⁰ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 276.

Briggs' translation of the text is very unsatisfactory. He does not give the details of fighting. I, pp. 440-41.

¹⁴¹ The *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*, Calcutta Text, p. 221.

¹⁴² Kaulas is a town in the Haiderabad state on the route from Haiderabad to Nandair eighty miles N. W. of Haiderabad. Thornton, Gaz. II, p. 437.

himself among the slain. His troops fled from the field of battle, panic-stricken at the death of their distinguished leader. Some of them took shelter in the forts of Bidar and Qandhar, while others in the extremity of distress sought refuge in Mandu in the north. Hasan who had no faith in half-measures did not rest satisfied with the victory that he had won. He at once sent Saif-al-Din Ghorî to besiege the forts where the rebels had sought refuge and himself marched towards Daulatabad, the stronghold of the 'Centurions' of the Deccan, in order to assist Sultan Nāsir-al-Din who was ^{struggling} ~~was~~ ^{struggling} on the struggle single-handed. The amirs, who ^{had} ~~had~~ ^{had} Tughluq had left at Daulatabad with ten or twelve ^{thousand} ~~thousand~~ ^{thousand} horse and foot to reduce the 'Centurions', were ^{seriously} ~~seriously~~ ^{seriously} alarmed by the news of the death of 'Imad-al-Mulk. The ^{news} ~~news~~ ^{news} of their own men and the advent of Hasan Kāngū further ^{unhinged} ~~unhinged~~ ^{unhinged} them, so that they left the place in despair and went away in ^{the} ~~the~~ ^{the} direction of Dihli and Gujarat. Nāsir-al-Din, overjoyed at ^{receiving} ~~receiving~~ ^{receiving} Hasan turn of fortune, came out of the fortress and cordial ^{at} ~~at~~ ^{at} the village of Nizampur at a distance of six ^{krohs} ~~krohs~~ ^{krohs} from Daulatabad, where the two leaders stayed for fourteen days exchanging mutual greetings and talking about the victory that had come to them after such vicissitudes. When Nāsir-al-Din saw the rising prestige of Hasan and his achievements in the late war and the esteem in which he was held by his fellow amirs, he summoned his confederates and told them that he was not fit to wear the crown. With one voice they asked him to suggest the name of the person whom he considered qualified to hold the exalted office. Nāsir-al-Din pointed to Hasan, who was descended from Bahman and who had given proof of his ability and valour. Younger than their present chief, Hasan was better able to lead the Deccan 'Centurions' and more fitted to assume royal dignity in such troubled circumstances. With a disregard of self which illustrates the magnanimity of the old leader, Nāsir-al-Din laid down the insignia of office and offered the crown to Hasan.¹⁴³ With the consent of the assembled warriors in

¹⁴³ The MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* has that Hasan set aside Isma'il Makh and himself assumed royalty. Badāoni who copies the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* for this reign writes: "Hasan Kāngū pursued them (rebels), and having driven out Isma'il Fath assumed the title of 'Ala-al-Din and usurped the government and from that time forward the rule of the districts of Daulatabad and the sovereignty of that kingdom remained in his family."

This is a wrong statement. All other writers positively assert that Isma'il resigned sovereignty of his free will and no compulsion of any kind was exercised.

an auspicious moment suggested by Sadr-al-Sharīf Samarqandī, Mir Muhammad Badakhshānī and other astrologers of Hindustan, he assumed the royal dignity under the title of ' Alā-al-Dunyā Wa-āl-Dīn abū-al-muzaffar Bahman Shāh on the 24th Rabi'al Sanī, 748 A.H. (August 13, 1347 A.D.).¹⁴⁴ The generals and soldiers, all paid him homage and the people of Daulatabad, ready to transfer their loyalty to the man who could command it, joined them in doing honour to their newly elected sovereign. The *Khutbah* was read in his name to set the seal of religious sanction on his assumption of sovereignty, and coins were struck in his name.

According to Firishta Hasan Kāngū assumed the royal dignity at morning time on Friday, the 24th Rabi-'al-Sanī, 748 A.H. and according to the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* in the 9th *ghari* i.e., about 9 or 10 in the morning on Friday, the 28th Sha'ban 748 A.H. (December 3, 1347 A.D.).

The date of the
Bahmani Kingdom.

Firishta's date is generally accepted, though we

have no reason to wholly reject the latter date. But the duration of Hasan's reign given by these two writers and others who wrote before and after them requires a word of explanation. Firishta says, Hasan's reign lasted for 11 years 2 months and 7 days¹⁴⁵ and he is supported by the *Tabqāt-i-Akbarī*¹⁴⁶ and the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir*.¹⁴⁷ Nizam-al-Din and Firishta both mention a work called the *Sirāj-al-Tawārīkh* which they consulted in preparing their histories, but which is no longer available. The Bankipore MS. of Amīn Ahmad Rāzī's *Haft Iqlīm* assigns to Hasan's reign a duration of 21 years which is obviously incorrect. The *Tazkīrāt-al-Mulūk* which is a tertiary authority says that Hasan died in 761 A.H. after a reign of 13 years 10 months and 27 days which is again, entirely wrong.¹⁴⁸ The Arabic History of Gujarat assigns to Hasan's reign a duration of 11 years 10 months and 7 days.¹⁴⁹ Now the duration of the reign given by all other writers except the author of the Arabic History

¹⁴⁴ Al-Badāonī, I, p. 314.

¹⁴⁵ Firishta says he died on the 1st Rabi-'al-Awwal 759 at the age of 67. Lucknow Text, p. 277.

¹⁴⁶ Bankipore MS. folios 361, 362.

¹⁴⁷ J. N. Sarkar's MS., p. 20.

Ind. Ant., 1899, p. 153.

¹⁴⁸ King's translation of the *Tazkīrāt-al-Mulūk* in the Indian Antiquary, 1899, p. 155.

¹⁴⁹ Arabic History of Gujarat III, p. 159.

is incorrect for the following reasons. According to Firishta, who dates the assumption of royalty by Hasan on the 24th Rabi-al-Sani 748 A.H., the end of Hasan's reign will be on the 1st or 2nd of Rajab 759 A.H. This does not tally with the date of the termination of Hasan's reign, i.e., the 1st of Rabi-al-awwal 759 A.H. given by him.¹⁵⁰ Besides, the date is in conflict with numismatic evidence, for we have a coin of Hasan bearing the date 760 A.H. According to the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir* the end of the reign will be sometime in the month of Zi-al-Q'adah 759 A.H., which is again in conflict with the evidence of coins. If we accept the duration of the reign given by Hājji-ad-Dabīr, and the date of accession given by Firishta we arrive at Rabi-al-awwal I, 760 A.H. which is the same as given by Firishta but for the difference in the year which in Firishta's work is 759. The coincidence between the day and month is not merely accidental but probably the result of calculation either by Firishta himself or by some one else whom he copied. Firishta writes *در ماه هفت روز* and it is probable that the later scribes may have written *در ماه* instead of *در ماه* by mistake. In any case it is clear that the duration of the reign was longer than that given by all these writers except Hājji-ad-Dabīr. Firishta's date of the termination of Hasan's reign is found to be remarkably correct, if we accept the length of the reign given by Hājji-ad-Dabīr and the date of assumption of royalty given by Firishta.¹⁵¹ This is also supported by numismatic evidence. On this ground Firishta's date is preferable to that given by the *Burhān-i-Mā'sir*.

The revolution at Devagiri was an irreparable disaster. The news disquieted the Sultan beyond measure and he was grieved to see the administration fall into disorder on all sides. The empire had embarked upon its downward course and what could he do to arrest this progress of decline? Too late the futility of punishment dawned upon his mind, and during his stay at Nehrwalā he abstained from punishment.¹⁵² Among the

The conquest of
Gimar and the
Sultan's pursuit of
Taghī.

¹⁵⁰ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 281.

¹⁵¹ J. A. S. B., 1923, Numismatic Supplement XXXVII, N. 23. There is a coin in Whittle's collection in the J. A. S. B., 1918.

There is a coin of Muhammad Shah I bin Bahman Shah, dated 760 A.H. which shows that Bahman Shah's reign ended sometime in 760 A.H. See J. A. S. B., 1923.

Numismatic Supplement XXXVII, N. 25.

¹⁵² Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 520.

Amirs who crowded his camp, he looked about for support to buttress up his tottering power, but they were all mediocrities without any plan or policy and could render him but little assistance. What seriously hampered him was the lack of capable governors and officers to carry into effect his plans. The inefficiency of the men on the spot emphasised the importance of the personal factor to such an extent that the Sultan's presence became necessary to restore order in disturbed areas. The local administrations, paralysed by persistent opposition and mismanagement, could make no stand against the rebels whose power was daily increasing. Neither at Devagiri nor in Gujarat the local administration displayed any vigour to check the forces of disorder and the Sultan alone had to bear the brunt of the opposition. The imperial army too does not seem to have shown any remarkable efficiency; probably the unusual severities of the Sultan had exhausted its patience and chilled its enthusiasm. In this unfortunate plight he wrote to Ahmad Ayāz, Malik Bahrām Ghaznīn, Amir Qabtah, and Amir Mahān to come down with an army to proceed against the insurgents at Devagiri. The nobles complied with the order and arrived at Devagiri with a considerable force. But the news came that Hasan Kāngū had organised a large army and had summoned all his amirs and chiefs to fight against the forces of the Sultan. Soon after his assumption of royal dignity Hasan had organised his government and sent the Khwajah Jahan, his minister and other amirs into the country to establish order. These circumstances delayed immediate action and the Sultan judged it impolitic to leave a disturbed province in the rear and resolved not to proceed to Devagiri until he had subdued Gujarat and brought to book the vile traitor Taghi who had given him so much trouble. The *muqaddams* of Devagiri, who had come to implore the Sultan's intervention in their affairs, returned to their homes disappointed by his decision. The affairs of Gujarat were seriously taken in hand, and the Sultan spent three years in the country collecting and organising his forces. The Rana of Girnar (modern Jūnāgarh) was humbled and all his dependencies towards the coast were conquered and a governor was appointed to hold the country.¹⁵³ The Rais and chiefs came to pay their homage and were

¹⁵³ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 523.

The siege of Girnar must have taken place in 1349 A.D. Barani says when the Sultan abandoned Devagiri which must have been after Rabi-'al-Sanī, 748 A.H. (August, 1347 A.D.) he devoted himself to the task of resettling Gujarat

treated with consideration. Firishta relying upon "certain authors of good authority" whom he does not name asserts that the Sultan desisted from the attempt on receiving homage from the chief of that place and the fort was not taken by the Muhammadans until it was captured by Mahmūd Shāh Bīghaḍa of Gujarat in 1468 A.D., but this statement is not supported by any contemporary annalist.¹⁵⁴ Khangar, the ruler of Girnar, was also subdued and brought as a prisoner to the Sultan.¹⁵⁵ Taghī was still at large and had successfully eluded the grasp of his pursuers. The Sultan set out on his journey towards Sindh and was obliged to halt at Gondal¹⁵⁶ owing to sudden illness. The news of Malik Kabir's death at Dihli caused him much anxiety. Ahmad Ayāz and Malik Maqbūl were sent back to administer the affairs of the capital. The Sultan summoned from

and spent three rainy seasons in that country. The first from June till October, 1348, he spent at Mandal and Patri, the second in besieging the fort of Girnar. He left Girnar when the rainy season was over, that is, in or after October, 1349 A.D. and reached Gondal where he stayed till the end of the next rainy season, i.e., October, 1350 A.D.

¹⁵⁴ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 143.

¹⁵⁵ Khangar was the ruler of Kutch. Barani clearly writes in one place (p. 521) سلطان معتمد مهم کرنال و قلع کنگار را مقدم داشت which means that the Sultan attached great importance to the expedition against the fort of Karnal and the destruction of Kānhgar. Again (p. 523) he makes Khankhar and the Rai of Karnal two different persons. His words are:—کهنکار و رانہ کرنال را گرفتہ بدرگاہ اوردند which means that Khankhar and the Rai of Karnal were taken prisoners and sent to court. This is a mistake of Barani.

Nizam-al-Din Ahmad also writes: "After he (Sultan) had taken possession of the citadel of Karnal, with its dependencies the head men and Rais of the neighbourhood all submitted to him and rendered him homage. Kankar, the ruler of Kutch, also came and made obeisance." Calcutta Text, p. 222.

Firishta also describes Khankar as the ruler of the country of Kutch. Hājji-ad-Dabīr in writing of this conquest says that Khānkar, the Rana of Girnar fled in his ship but he was captured, and brought to the Sultan. Girnar was conquered in 750 A.H. The Bankipore MS. of the *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadi* says that Sultan Muhammad conquered the fort of Karnal. Khāngar, the ruler of the territory of Kutch, also paid homage. On his return the Sultan appointed Nizam-al-Mulk governor of Gujarat.

¹⁵⁶ Gondal is the chief town of the state of the same name and is prettily situated on the Western bank of the Gondli river, a tributary of the Bhadar. The city is situated in 21° 58' North latitude and 70° 80' East longitude.

Bombay Gaz., VIII, p. 444.

Gondal is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the Sarkar of Sorath.

Jarrett, II, pp. 244, 258.

The Sultan stayed at Gondal till October, 1350 A.D.

Dihli Khudāwand Zādah and Makhdūm Zādah together with many Shaikhs, the 'Ulama, the elders, Maliks, horsemen and foot soldiers to join him in the camp. With the arrival of these men the imperial army was considerably augmented. Preparations for subduing Thatta began to be made and the Sultan planned an attack by land and sea. Boats were brought from the fiefs of Multan, Uchh, Depalpur and Siwistan, and the whole army crossed the river Indus. The Mughal chief of Farghānā sent a new reinforcement of four or five thousand horse under his general Altūn Bahadur and the Sultan was much gratified to see his forces increased at such a time of need. The entire host, which according to Barani was 'as numerous as swarm of ants and locusts,' mobilised towards Thatta, determined to crush the traitor Taghī and his host the Sumrah chief. The festival of Muharram occurred at this time, and the Sultan, when he was still at a distance of 30 Krohs from Thatta, observed the 'ashurā, the usual fast on the tenth day of Mūharram. He ate some fish which did not agree with him and aggravated his illness.¹⁵⁷ But no thought of personal comfort could make Muhammad flinch from his resolve and the onward march was continued. The royal army was within 14 Krohs of the walls of Thatta, ready to take the field against its enemies, eager for their destruction; and if the Sultan's life had not been cut short by a sudden illness, he would have surely overpowered them. His condition grew worse

¹⁵⁷ Ranking in his translation of Badāoni's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh* (I, p. 319) says that the disease of phthisis found its way to his constitution.

Barani only says :

بوقت افطار ماهي خوردن و خوردن ماهي موافق مزاج نيافتاد
و رحمت سلطان عود کردن و بازتپ فراهم گشت

which means that the Sultan ate fish which did not agree with him and he got fever. Calcutta Text, p. 524.

Nizam-al-Din follows Barani and so does Firishta. Badāoni's بهاري دق (phthisis) does not seem to be correct unless it is meant to denote any kind of fever.

Ranking gives the definition of phthisis from the *Bahrul-i-Jawāhir*. He writes a long note in Vol. I, p. 319.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* who is an earlier authority than Badāoni and one whom the latter always copies says that the Sultan fell ill at Gondal owing to anxiety caused by the rebellions and disorders that broke out in all parts of the empire and his inability to suppress them. He says later, when the king reached Thatta the same disease returned and he died.

owing to incessant exertions and on the 21st Muharram 752 A.H. (March 20, 1351 A.D.) he expired on the bank of the Indus, leaving his friends and followers in the desert of Sindh to mourn his loss.¹⁵⁸ There is nothing to show that a clerical plot was hatched to dethrone the Sultan and Barani's chronicle furnishes no clue to the fact.¹⁵⁹ Dr. Vincent Smith feels horror at the long duration of the reign and writes: "It is astonishing that such a monster should have retained power for twenty-six years and then have died in his bed."¹⁶⁰ If the reader bears in mind that Muhammad was a capable man who was as munificent in his rewards as he was inexorable in his punishments, as brave and high-spirited in war as he was impartial and stern in times of peace, he will feel no surprise. Greater tyrants than Muhammad Tughluq have swayed the sceptre for longer periods both in the east and west and often the length of the regime depends upon the personal qualities of the despot and the circumstances in which he is placed. But we may readily concur in the historian's judgment that politically he destroyed the hard-won supremacy of the Dihli Sultanate with the necessary reservation that the circumstances in which he was placed were of an exceptionally difficult character. The Deccan was lost to the empire and all the provinces became practically independent. The Bahmani Kingdom was firmly established with its capital at Kulburga and the kingdom of Vijayanagar on the Coromandel coast had brought a large area under its control. The Sultanate of Madura enjoyed *de facto* sovereignty and carried on wars with the Hindus until the year 1365 A.D. The large empire which had once extended from Dihli, and Lahore to Dwarsamudra and Ma'bar in the South and from Lakhnauti and Gaur in the east to Thatta and the confines of Sindh on the west was reduced to incredibly small proportions. Gujarat continued

¹⁵⁸ Husām Khān's date Muharram 11, 752 A.H. is incorrect,

¹⁵⁹ J. U. P. Historical Society, Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 29. Mr. Gardner Brown seems to believe that a clerical plot was formed to place the Sultan's priest-ridden cousin on the throne, but such a view is entirely unsupported. Barani clearly writes that the Sultan on his death-bed nominated his cousin Firuz as his heir for the latter had attended him with great care and affection. Unless we charge Barani with deliberate falsehood it is difficult to reject this statement which is supported by other writers. Calcutta Text, pp. 531-32.

Hājji-ad-Dabīr accepts Barani's statement that the Sultan had nominated three men, Malik Kabīr, Ahmad Ayāz and Firuz as his heirs.

¹⁶⁰ Oxford History of India, p. 244.

nominally as a province of the Dihli empire, but in other places the imperial authority had ceased to exist.

Taghī still remained at bay. After Muhammad's death when Firuz ascended the throne, he went to Malik Nikbī, the chief Sardawātdār, Malik Bahrām Ghaznī and Malik Nawād, commander of the right wing and offered to make submission. But he was insincere in his professions of loyalty, and wished to hoodwink the amirs. The author of the *Śīrat-i-Firuz Shahī* writes: "God helped Firuz, and Taghī was killed by some amir. On the day the Sultan entered the capital, he received the news of Taghī's death and all the maliks and amirs submitted to him."¹⁶¹

The Deccan proved the Sphinx of the situation. What the Marathas did for Aurangzeb, the Mughal emperor, the Deccan amirs did on a small scale and with far less resources for Muhammad Tughluq. High-spirited and audacious, the Deccan 'Centurions' proved as subtle and elusive as the Marathas of the seventeenth century and their irrepressible sedition wrecked all the plans and schemes of the Sultan. Though no bigoted Islamite like the Puritan 'Ālamgir he adopted a policy which created for him enemies in all parts of the empire which was too large and too hastily formed to be held together from Dihli in the 14th century. The dependency of Madura in the far South had separated itself from the empire, and the declaration of independence by Ahsan Shah in 1335 A.D. had greatly diminished the prestige of the imperial government and deprived it of a valuable means of support against the Hindu Rajas of the Deccan. The grand league organised by Kṛṣṇa Nāyak in 1342 A.D. marked a turning point in the fortunes of Muhammad Tughluq. Up to this time he had been engaged in suppressing rebellions in the north and had always succeeded, but after 1343 A.D. an ominous situation confronted him. Famine, pestilence, rebellious governors, religious hatred, and national or to be more accurate communal pride—all combined to bring about his overthrow. The successful Hindu revolt in the South necessitated a complete revision of policy, but the Sultan constantly spurned the behests of irksome prudence. The 'Centurions' turned against him; the insults of 'Aziz Khummār and the Sultan's own breach of faith severely tried their loyalty and goaded them into rebellion. He utterly failed to comprehend the

¹⁶¹ *Śīrat*, Bankipore MS.

mentality of these spirited people and had recourse to measures he had been used to adopt in dealing with the milder-mannered races of Hindustan. His lack of diplomacy, his contempt for his enemies, characteristic of all despots blinded by an exaggerated estimate of their own strength, and his feverish anxiety to execute his plans in a ruthless manner account for his failure in dealing with them. When the revolt broke out at Devagiri, he ought to have concentrated all his forces there, for the place was one of great strategic importance. But the Sultan, whose judgment was impaired by an unbroken succession of misfortunes and failures, adopted a wrong plan. The lack of competent generals and advisers further aggravated his difficulties. Among the nobles and officers around him in Gujarat, we find a conspicuous dearth of statesmen and ministers, gifted with foresight, tact and the power of effective organisation. Neither he nor his advisers estimated correctly the formidable power which the 'Centurions' at Daulatabad had acquired and the small force, which he called from Dihli with Ahmad Ayāz, proves his inadequate appreciation of the situation. Barani clearly says that he abandoned the project of an expedition to Daulatabad, because he did not possess sufficient forces to cope with the rebels.¹⁶² The interests of the empire demanded that the rebels at Daulatabad should have been crushed before attempting anything else, and that would have considerably strengthened the hands of the Sultan. Daulatabad was the key to the Maratha country, and without it the Sultan would have found it difficult to maintain his hold over the Deccan. The 'Centurions' had gathered in large numbers and obtained considerable support in the disaffected country. They had capable leaders whose success was assured, because they thought more of the order to which they belonged and less of their own individual interests. Besides, the Sultan's inability to take prompt measures to deal with them had enabled them to gather a large army in a country where improvised levies can be had without difficulty in times of disorder. Gujarat was not a stronghold of the *amirs' sadah*. Taghī had fled into Sindh, and Barani writes that the Ranas and *muqaddams* of that country had offered submission to the Sultan. To complete the subjugation of Gujarat, he might have left some capable and trusty officers with a strong military force behind. Then, Taghī was not such a formidable enemy. He had been

¹⁶² Calcutta Text, p. 520.

driven from place to place by the royal army, and from his retreat in Sindh it was difficult for him to create serious trouble either in Hindustan or in the Deccan. A careful study of these transactions reveals clearly the inefficiency of military generalship. The strength of a state depends not upon the vastness of territories under its control, nor on the numbers that it can put in the field of battle, but upon the *morale* of the people. Accustomed to the easy life at court, the Musalman had lost his old stamina, and although a few flickering lights were seen, there were no generals of consummate ability like Kafūr and 'Ulugh Khan. The imperialists lacked initiative and enterprise and too much dependence upon the Sultan rendered their movements overcautious and dilatory. Never was the offensive boldly assumed during the Deccan revolt ; every time a diversion was made to deal with a minor and a subsidiary objective, which caused a waste of energy and achieved no substantial results. None was capable of discerning the realities of the situation and none was clear-sighted enough to foresee the consequences of such tactics. Personally strong and capable, the Sultan was not assisted by able men and all his military plans betrayed the limitations of his strategy, lack of unity of command, and more of improvisation than a studied and dexterous manœuvre to counteract the enemy's designs. Throughout the long struggle the Sultan fought single-handed and pathetically strove to overcome the opposition in all quarters. The provinces sent no help ; Bengal was cut off from the empire and the northern provinces too were watching with complacency the growth of disorders. The spirit of revolt was rampant throughout the land, and the emperor, beaten and baffled, withdrew from one position to another in desperate fury. At last the curtain fell upon scene in the desert wilds of Sindh and demonstrated to the world that the powerful factor in war is the spirit and not the numerical strength of the men who are called upon to take part in it ; this was crushed by the sufferings which they had endured. The Great Napoleon described the Spanish rising as a 'running sore.' Muhammad Tughluq found the Deccan revolt a running sore which ultimately ruined him.

CHAPTER VII

THE INSTITUTIONS

The Muslim state in the middle ages was a theocracy. It was a state which aimed at serving the cause of God, and those who enlisted in its service were comrades united by the bond of a common faith and ideal. The Church exercised a powerful influence on the state. The orthodox legists called the 'Ulama expounded and interpreted the Holy law, and upon their decisions often depended the weal or woe of millions of human beings conquered by the Muslim rulers. The ideal Muslim state according to them was that which waged war against the infidels, crushed their independence and reduced them to the status of Zimmis.¹ The repression of the *Zimmi*, the declaration of *Jihād*² for the extirpation of infidelity, the conversion of *Dār-al-Harb* into *Dār-al-Islam*³ was the highest service which a true Muslim could render to the cause of God. Those Muslim rulers whom the Muslim historians delight to honour were men who tried to approximate to this ideal according

¹ In the Islamic system the non-Muslim subjects of Muslim states are called *Ahl-uz-Zimma* or *Zimmis*, i.e., "people living under guarantees."

² *Jihād* literally means an "effort or striving." It means a religious war with those who are unbelievers in the mission of Muhammad. It is an incumbent religious duty, established in the Qurān and in the traditions as a divine institution and enjoined especially for the purpose of advancing Islam or of repelling evil from Muslims. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, p. 243.

³ According to the Dictionary *Ghiyas-al-Lughat* *Dār-al-Harb* is a country belonging to infidels which has not been subdued by Islam. According to *Qāmus*, it is a country in which peace has not been proclaimed between Muslims and unbelievers. The *Dār-al-Islam* is the land of Islam. According to the *Raddu'-i-Mukhtar* (III, p. 391) it is a country in which the edicts of Islam are fully promulgated. Hughes' Dictionary of Islam, pp. 69-70.

To turn *Dār-al-Harb* into *Dār-al-Islam* is the object of *Jihād* and theoretically the Muslim state is a state of constant warfare with the non-Muslim world. But practically that is now impossible. The rulers of Islāmic states are not in a position to keep up a constant warfare *contra mundum*. The Encyclopaedia of Islam, p. 1913.

to their lights and opportunities. The Hindus had to pay the Jeziyah⁴ and accept virtually the position of hewers of wood and drawers of water to their Muslim masters.

The Prophet's ordinances regarding toleration and conversion by means of persuasion were seldom followed by mediaeval rulers. Here and there we come across a ruler with an original turn of mind who rejected the dogmas of the 'Ulama and tried to shake off the ecclesiastical trammels, but the general trend of the policy of early Muslim governments in Hindustān was to humiliate the Hindus, for in the humiliation and abasement of the Zimmi consisted the 'glory of the faith.' 'Ala-al-Din asked Qazi Mughis of Biyanah as to the position of the Hindus in a Muslim state. The canonist replied :

"The Hindu is a *Khiraj-guzār* of the state. If the tax-collector (*muhassal*) chooses to spit into the mouth of a Hindu, his duty is to open his lips submissively so that he may do so. To show submission like this and to allow the *muhassal* to spit into his mouth is the

⁴ The word Jeziyah is variously translated into English as 'capitation tax and poll-tax' and sometimes as a tax on Conscience. It is in reality a tax which is levied by a Muhammadan ruler upon subjects who are of a different faith, but to whom protection (*aman*) has been granted. It is sanctioned in the *Qurān*.

"Make war upon such of those to whom the scriptures have been given, as believe not God or in the last day, and forbid not that which God and his Apostles have forbidden, and who profess not the profession of truth, until they pay tribute out of their hands and be humbled."

According to the *Hidāyah* Jeziyah is of two kinds—that which is established voluntarily and that which is enforced, the usual rate is one *dinar* for every male person, females and children being exempt according to Abu Hanifah, but included by As-shafi. It should be imposed upon Jews, and Christians, and Magians, but it should not be accepted from the Arabian idolators or from apostates, who should be killed. But from the idolators of countries other than Arabia it may be accepted. It should not be levied upon monks, hermits, or paupers, or slaves. He who pays the Jeziyah and obeys the Muhammadan state is called a Zimmi. Hughes', p. 248.

When the Muslims conquered an infidel country they offered three alternatives to the vanquished people . . .

- (1) the reception of Islam;
- (2) the payment of Jeziyah;
- (3) death by the sword.

Naturally a great many people who stuck to their beliefs and wished to save their lives paid the Jeziyah. The payment of the Jeziyah both according to the Hanafis and Shafis is accompanied by humiliation and degradation. The Jurists lay down in detail the procedure which is to be followed in making the payment. Aghnides, *Muhammadan Theories of Finance*, Vol. LXX, pp. 398—407

highest kind of obedience.⁵ God has commanded the abasement of the Hindus. Their degradation is especially enjoined by Islam, because they are the worst enemies of the Prophet. The Prophet has also enjoined their spoliation, plunder and enslavement. They should either be compelled to embrace Islam or they should be killed and their goods should be seized. None of our great jurists except Abu Hānifah has ordained the imposition of the *Jeziyah*. There is no alternative between Islam and death."

The Sultan did not accept the Qazi's advice, for he was too wise to play into the hands of the clericalists. Again when Maulana Shams-al-Din Turk, an exponent of *Hadis* came from Egypt to wait upon the Sultan, he heard at Multan that the august monarch whom he was going to visit did not observe the prescribed prayers. He decided to go back, but he sent to the Sultan a small tract written in Persian which, in addition to his reasons for the abandonment of his proposed visit, contained the following observations which clearly indicate the attitude of a typical mediaeval canonist towards the non-Muslim population. He wrote :—

"I have heard of your two or three qualities which I have never seen in any religious king. One of these is that you have degraded the Hindus to such an extent that their wives and children beg their bread at the doors of Muslims. You are, in doing so, rendering a great service to religion. All your sins will be pardoned by reason of this single act of merit and if it be otherwise, hold my skirt on the day of judgment.⁶"

Such was the attitude of Muslim Churchmen in the 14th century towards the non-Muslims. Their advice was not literally followed by capable and sensible rulers who consulted their interests, but there was always a temptation before bigots and weak men to be swayed by their influence. Under Muhammad Tughluq the '*Ulama* failed to gain the upper hand, but after his death the pendulum swung back in the opposite direction and his priest-ridden cousin adopted a policy which was fraught with disastrous consequences to the empire notwithstanding his comprehensive schemes of reform.

⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 290.

Barani uses the word *سُت* for spitting which Elliot (III, p. 184) translates into throwing dirt into the mouth.

⁶ Barani, p. 297.

Though theologians and divines were considered as oracles of the law by Muhammadan rulers, a great change came over the position of the 'Ulama towards the close of the

M u h a m m a d
Tughluq and the
Muslim Church.

thirteenth century. The insecurity of the state caused by the fear of internal revolts and repeated Mughal raids tended to increase the authority

of the crown. The temporal power gradually eclipsed the ecclesiastical and under 'Ala-al-Din Khilji the state claimed omnipotence and the claim was forcibly expressed by him. 'Ala-al-Din symbolised the unity of his people and the position which he occupied was the result of the unprecedented achievements of the monarchy. The memorable words which he spoke to Qazi Mughis—"I do not know whether this is lawful or unlawful: whatever I think to be for the good of the state, or suitable for the emergency, that I decree"—succinctly sum up the new political doctrine. The first two Tughluqs were strong men who refused to follow in every thing the doctors of the divine law. Muhammad was a man of great ability well-versed in philosophy and dialectics and his masterful nature resented all dictation and encroachment upon his authority. He seldom consulted the 'Ulama and never followed their advice. It was impossible for a man of his rational frame of mind to submit to the cramping influence of a narrow sectarianism, and his mind, liberalised by his wide culture and contact with men of different nationalities, refused to give assent to what was inconsistent with public interest and his own authority. He laid his hands freely upon the members of the clerical party when he found them guilty of sedition or embezzlement of public funds in utter disregard of the inviolability which they claimed. Ibn Batūtah has recorded several instances in which the members of this sacrosanct order were severely punished by the Sultan and in some cases the severest penalties were inflicted upon them. The Sultan's view was sound, for how could he govern his large empire with its conflicting interests according to the canon law? He saw clearly the mischief which the adoption of ecclesiastical dogmas was likely to cause to the administration. War with the 'Ulama was inevitable. They could not approve of the acts of an administration which placed them on a level with the unbelievers. Their lament finds clear expression in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Zia Barani which is full of references to the 'irreligious projects' of the Sultan and the degradation of the priestly class brought about by his policy. Muhammad

rejected with unrivalled courage the orthodox formulæ and freely associated with men who applied to religion the cold test of reason, and we see the bitterness aroused by his policy in the condemnation which Barani pours upon his advisers, whom he holds responsible for his alleged aberration from the right path. He deprived the priestly class of its long-enjoyed monopoly of the administration of justice, constituted himself into the Supreme Court of Appeal and freely revised, altered and rescinded the decisions of Qazis and muftis. He imposed a strict supervision over the administration of *waqf* properties and cashiered the *mutawalis*, who were mostly Shaikhs and Maulvis for their malpractices. Taxation was not to be restricted to the four taxes—*Khirāj*, *Zakāt*, *Jeziyah* and *Khams*, because the needs of the state were many and varied and could not be met unless more money came into the treasury.⁷ The share of the faithful in the booty captured in war was after 'Ala-al-Din's fashion restricted to one-fifth instead of four-fifths on which the clericalists laid much stress.⁸ The ordinary law of the land from which the priestly class had so far been exempt was rigorously applied to them and the new government insisted on the principle of efficiency and justice. Such treatment was bound to give offence to the class which considered itself the repository of all religious and civil law. Hence the malignant conspiracy which was formed by the 'Ulama to traduce and disparage the Sultan. By the force of his personality and by means of drastic measures he maintained to the last day of his life the non-sectarian character of his government.

Nothing illustrates the waning influence of the 'Ulama more than the absence of religious persecution and conversion of non-Muslims by means of official agency during Muhammad's reign. No contemporary writer speaks of frequent forced conversions of Hindus or the prohibition of worship in accordance with the tenets of their faith. The theocratic activities of the state were restricted within narrow bounds. The Sultan confined himself to the regulation of the religious life of the Muslims alone; he enforced the daily prayers and punished those who neglected them.⁹ Yet Barani to

⁷ The Bankipore MS. of the *Sirat* mentions a large number of taxes which were abolished by Firuz who reduced them to the prescribed number. Firuz in his *Fatuhāt* also makes mention of them.

Fatuhāt, Elliot, III, p. 377.

⁸ *Fatuhāt*, Elliot, III, p. 377.

⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 286.

The author of the *Masālik* agrees with Ibn Batūtah. Paris, MS.

whom the Sultan's liberalism was nothing short of a disaster to Islam writes that he was profuse in shedding the blood of innocent believers.¹⁰ Muhammad's reign represents a struggle between philosophical rationalism and ecclesiastical dogmatism. For a triumphant vindication of the former, the age was not yet ripe and the entire policy of the Sultan was reversed after his death. Firuz's sectarianism was the orthodox answer to his predecessor's liberalism.

The empire was organised on a feudal basis with the Sultan as the apex of the whole system. He was the fountain of all authority and justice and his government was of an autocratic character. The institutions of government were well-organised; they were based upon the Persian model and their proper working was ensured by the ability and energy of the autocrat. The Sultan, though he enjoyed unlimited power, had a small council which advised him in important matters. Barani pours his cold scorn upon the members of this council whom he holds responsible for the unorthodox acts of his reign. They were¹¹ :—

The Working of
the Civil Govern-
ment.

- (1) Yusuf Bughra.
- (2) Khalil, son of the Sardawātdār or keeper of the king's ink and pen.
- (3) Zainbandah Mukhlis-al-Mulk.
- (4) Muhammad Najīb.
- (5) Shaikhzādah Nahāwandi.
- (6) Qaran-fal, the Executioner.
- (7) Aibā.
- (8) Majīr Abu Rajā.
- (9) The son of the Qazi of Gujarat.
- (10) The three sons of Rukn-al-Din of Thanesar.

Besides these close associates, the Sultan surrounded himself with nobles whom he appointed to high offices. Soon after the completion of the preliminary political settlement of the empire, he realised the incompetence of the native nobility and began to show

¹⁰ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 460.

¹¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 472.

Ibn Batūtah also mentions some of these names. III, p. 231

preference for foreigners who came from Khorasan, 'Iraq, Persia, Bōkharā, Samarqand and other countries beyond the Hindukush. These men were invested with important commands. Though the Sultan was guided by the sole consideration of efficiency, his policy produced disastrous consequences. He failed to hold the scales even between the two sets of nobles—the foreigners and the Hindustanis. Ibn Batūtah tells us that the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk was a duel between the Hindustanis and the foreigners.¹² The experiment of creating an aristocracy of foreigners depending upon the Sultan's bounty for subsistence failed, as it was bound to fail, and the greatest troubles of his reign were due to the disloyal proceedings of these *amirs* in some of the important provinces of the empire.

The whole territory included in the dominions of the Sultan was parcelled out into provinces, each of which was placed under a viceroy (*naib Wazir*) who was answerable to the Sultan for his actions. There was no line of demarcation between the civil and the military departments. Neither the jurisdictions of these two branches of the administration nor the duties of officers were clearly defined and the military functionary was also invested with civil duties like the *amirs sadah* who were captains of one hundred with power to manage the collections of revenue in the provinces. The author of the *Masālik*, basing his statement on the information of Shaikh Mubarak, who was acquainted with the affairs of the Sultan of Dihli mentions four principal grades of officers whose duties seem to have been primarily of a military character. His account is not exhaustive. It leaves out a number of functionaries who were entrusted with important business. But it gives us some idea of the basis of organisation of the civil and military departments. He mentions four principal grades of officers without drawing any distinction between the civil and the military branches of the administration. These were the Khans, the maliks, the amirs, the *lefahsālārs* or *Sipahsālārs* and the Jund. The Sultan was assisted by a *nāib* who was chosen from among the Khans and who bore the title of *Amriyah* and held a Jagir as large as 'Iraq. He was as it were, the *alter ego* of the Sultan and acted for him during his absence. He had also a *Wazir* or chief minister who enjoyed a

¹² Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 344.

similar Jagir and who was assisted by four deputies called *Shiqdars*¹³ who received from twenty thousand to forty thousand *tankahs* per annum. It appears that the author of the *Masālik* has made a mistake in calling these officers *Shiqdars*, for these were sometimes governors of provinces and sometimes officers responsible for the collection of revenue. The minister had four *Dabirs* or secretaries, each of whom was allowed a Jagir for his maintenance. Each of the *Dabirs* had a staff of three hundred clerks and the lowest pay of these officers was ten thousand *tankahs* a year. The *Dabirs* possessed large powers; all ambassadors, travellers, men of letters, and poets, both native and foreign, were under them. Some of them held Jagirs and some were granted both Jagir and salary. It is difficult to vouch for the accuracy of the figures given by the author of the *Masālik* but there is no doubt that the Sultan maintained large and costly establishments and a confirmation of this view is to be found in the pages of Ibn Batūtah. From the writings of Barani, Ibn Batūtah and other contemporary and later writers we learn that the number of officers was formidably large and that the various departments of the state worked with regularity and efficiency under the personal supervision of the autocrat. The principal officers of the state were:—

(1) The Nāib Sultan or the King's vicegerent whose duty was to act in the King's place during his absence. When Sultan Tughluq Shah marched towards Lakhnauti towards the close of his reign he appointed Prince Juna (Muhammad Tughluq) his nāib to look after the affairs of the capital.¹⁴ Khan Jahan Maqbūl held this office under Firuz. The Provincial governor was also called a nāib.

(2) The Qazi-al-Quzāt or Lord Chief Justice.¹⁵

(3) The Amir Kohi or Director of Agriculture.¹⁶

¹³ The Arabic text of the *Masālik* has only the word *Shiq* but *Shiq* is literally a territorial sub-division for administrative convenience.

¹⁴ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 451.

¹⁵ According to the author of the *Masālik* this officer held a Jagir of ten villages which yielded a revenue of six thousand *tankahs*. Paris MS.

¹⁶ This was an office to manage the department of agriculture which was organised mainly with a view to mitigate the severity of famine. Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 498. The Lucknow text of Firishta has Amir Koī (p. 140). The word is variously spelt in various histories. In the Arabic History of Gujarat it is Amir Karohi. Briggs makes it *Amurgo* which is entirely wrong.

- (4) The Mirdād or Amirdād, an officer whose duty was to present before the Qazi any big amir or noble against whom a complaint was instituted.¹⁷
- (5) The Barbak or Grand Usher. This office was held by the Sultan's cousin Firuz.
- (6) The Mir 'Arz or Lord of Petitions.
- (7) The 'Ariz-i-Mamālik or Muster-master, an officer who reviewed the troops.
- (8) The Mustaufi or Auditor General of Imperial finances. This officer had important duties to perform. According to Shams-i-Siraj 'Aff, the Mustaufi in Firuz's time superintended the accounts of *Diwan-i-Risālah* or the office of correspondence and the *Diwan-i-Bandgān* or the office of slaves.¹⁸
- (9) The Bakhshi-i-Fauj or paymaster of the forces.
- (10) The Mir 'Imārat or Chief Engineer of the State.
- (11) The Sharaf-al-Mulk or Financial Secretary.¹⁹
- (12) The Vakil-i-dar or keeper of the keys of the palace-gates. This was an important office in the middle ages.
- (13) The Diwan-i-Ashrāf or Accountant General.
- (14) The Amir-i-Ākhur or Superintendent of Stables.
- (15) The Amir-i-Shikār or Lord of the Hunt.
- (16) The Hājib or Lord Chamberlain.
- (17) The Amir-i-Fīlān or Lord of Elephants.
- (18) The Akhbār Nawis or Recorders of news who wrote a full account of the foreigners who visited India. They entered in their registers full particulars about them—their identity, their dress and the number of their retainers.
- (19) The Shaikh-al-Islam or Principal Religious officer of the realm. All mendicants and *darveshes* were under him.

¹⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 400.

¹⁸ 'Aff, Calcutta Text, p. 464.

¹⁹ The Sultan appointed Amir Bakht to this office. He was to supervise the work of the Diwan-i-Khānah and was permitted to occupy the same *masnad* with the Wazir. His salary was forty thousand dinars a year and a Jagir yielding an equal amount of revenue. Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 401.

To these officers along with several others were assigned the various departments of the state. They may be roughly classified as follows :—

The officers of the revenue department :—

- (1) The Shiqdār.²⁰
- (2) The ' Āmil.
- (3) The Muhassal.
- (4) The Khūt.
- (5) The Muqaddam.
- (6) The Chowdhari.
- (7) The Patwārī or village accountant.
- (8) The Khazānchi or Treasurer.
- (9) The Diwan-i-Mustakhrij,²¹ an officer who realised arrears from ' Āmils.
- (10) The Faujdar is mentioned as a revenue officer who exercised magisterial jurisdiction also.

The officers of the court and the royal household were the following :—

- (1) The Dādbak.
- (2) The Bārbak or Grand Usher, an officer who has already been noticed.
- (3) The nāib Bārbak.
- (4) The Hājib-al-Hujjāb or Lord of the Hājibs.
- (5) The Hājib or Lord Chamberlain.
- (6) The Sardawātdār, an officer who kept the king's pen and paper.
- (7) The Sarjāmdār, an officer whose duty was to wave a *chowri* over the king's head to ward off the flies. Ibn Batūtah says this office was held by Malik Qabūlah.

²⁰ The Shiqs were sub-divisions of a province for purposes of revenue. We read in Barani that when the Sultan returned from Saragdwāri, he divided the Mahratta country into four *Shiqs*. The office of Shiqdar is mentioned in the Āin-i-Akbari. He was an officer appointed to collect the revenue from a certain division of land under the government. It was sometimes applied to the chief financial officer of a province or to a viceroy in his financial capacity.

²¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 259.

The traveller was informed by his Secretary 'Ala-al-Din ibn Sharsi of Egypt that he held a Jagir and spent 36 lakhs a year on his troops and household establishment.²²

- (8) The Sharbdār or keeper of the royal drinks.
- (9) The Muhardār or keeper of the royal seals.
- (10) The nāib Hājib or Deputy Lord Chamberlain.
- (11) The Kharitadār, an officer who carried the Sultan's letter-bag. This office was held once by Ibrahim, son of Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah, governor of Ma'bar. Elliot translates it into purse-bearer.²³
- (12) The Shahnah-i-bārgāh or Superintendent of the royal Court. According to the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* and Ibn Batūtah the Sultan's slave Taghi held this office for some time.²⁴
- (13) The Mutsaddis—these were the clerks who regulated entrance to the royal palace. They sat at the gate of the palace and did not allow any one to enter unless his name was entered in a register. In addition to the name they recorded the number of his attendants and the date and time of his arrival. The king himself inspected these registers. If any incidents occurred at the gate, they were also recorded. These registers were laid before the Sultan by a member of the royal family.²⁵
- (14) The Chāshnigir, an officer who supervised the food of the Sultan and probably tasted it before it was served on the royal table.²⁶

²² Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 231.

This office is frequently mentioned by Barani. Malik Qabūlah is described as Sarjāmdār. Malik Kabir also held this post. The *Masālik* says he was the principal keeper of the Sultan's wardrobe. Paris MS.

²³ Elliot, III, p. 243.

²⁴ *Sirat*, Bankipore MS.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 236.

²⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 219.

²⁶ Barani also mentions this office. The Bankipore MS. has Chāshnagir
Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 361.

- (15) The Naqīb-al-Nuqbah, an officer who held an embroidered staff in his hand and regulated entrance into the palace.
- (16) The Pardadār, an officer who was chief of the durbāns (gatekeepers). Ibn Batūtah says this post was held by big amirs.²⁷
- (17) The Khatīb-al-Khutbah or chief of the Khatibs, i.e., the head of those who read the Khutbah or prayer for the sovereign.²⁸
- (18) The Rasūldār or Hājib-al-Irsāl, an officer who probably introduced persons to the Hājib.²⁹
- (19) The Bashmaqḍār, or the Sandal-bearer of the king. The author of the *Masālik* says, the Sultan had 1,000 bashmaqḍārs who were all armed and who marched by his side on foot.³⁰
- (20) The Mir Majlis³¹ or the chief officer of the Durbār.

Besides these there were several others among whom may be mentioned the *Nāzir-i-fal-Huḅs*,³² an officer who looked after the management of *Sadqah*, the Nāzir of royal gardens,³³ the *Khazāin-i-Khās* or the keeper of the royal jewellery³⁴ and *Shahnah-i-bāzār*.

The officers of the departments of Justice and Police were the following :—

- (1) The Qazi-al-Quzāt or Sadr Jahan.

²⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 280.

²⁸ Khatīb is a Turkish word which means an officiating priest or clerk who pronounces the Khutbah or public prayer for the sovereign.

Redhouse, Turkish Dictionary, p. 553.

²⁹ Ibn Batūtah speaks of a certain occupant of this office who was given a salary of 24 thousand *dinars* a year and a Jagir of equal value.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 402.

³⁰ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

Quatrémère, *Notices des Manuscrits*, XIII, p. 181.

³¹ According to Ibn Batūtah this office was once held by 'Imād-al-Mulk Sartez, III, p. 295.

³² *Huḅs* means *Sadqah* or charity. Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 295.

³³ When the Sultan pardoned 'Ain-al-Mulk after his revolt he appointed him Nāzir of the royal gardens.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 357.

³⁴ Barani, Bankipore MS.

- (2) The Qazi or Judge who pronounced judgment in cases.
- (3) The Mufti, an officer who expounded the law.
- (4) The Mirdād, an officer who assisted the Qazi in bringing to trial amirs and nobles.
- (5) The nāib Qazi.
- (6) Mufti Diwān-i-Siyāsat, an officer who superintended the execution of sentences.
- (7) The Kotwāl or minister of Police and Public prosecutor.
- (8) The Muhatsib,³⁵ an officer of Police who controlled the market and acted as the censor of public morals. He kept himself informed of everything that took place at the capital.
- (9) The Hākim or Magistrate.
- (10) The Manhis or spies who mixed with the army and also with the civil population and reported everything to the Sultan.

No post was hereditary in the state. Efficiency was in the Sultan's eyes the sole test of fitness for public employment. To achieve this object he disregarded the claims of the native nobility in favour of foreigners of merit from the countries of western Asia. There was a dearth of capable officials in Hindustan. A great many of the statesmen, ministers and generals of 'Ala-al-Din's time had died in the ordinary course, and during the reigns of Qutb-al-Din Mubarak and Khusrau nothing was done to encourage talent. The veteran Tughluq Shah had found a few officers of his own calibre, but even he felt the want of capable men. Muhammad Tughluq on his accession found the empire understaffed and turned to the upper classes and the foreigners for help. When these failed him, he

³⁵ This useful office was created by Khalifah Mahdi and has existed ever since in Islamic countries. The *Muhatsib* went through the city accompanied by a detachment of his subordinates to see that the police orders were duly carried out. He examined the weights and measures and suppressed nuisances. According to the *Masālik* the Muhatsib held a village in Jagir which yielded an income of eight thousand *tanqahs*.

Paris MS. The more probable figure seems to be eight hundred given by Elliot (III, p. 579). The office of the *Muhatsib* or prefect of police existed under the Khalifahs, and its functions are described fully by Kremer in his *Orient* under the Caliphs (p. 292).

revised his policy and raised to positions of eminence men of humble origin.³⁶ Barani's bitter complaint against these men is based on personal reasons. The Sultan had defied the 'Ulama and challenged their claim to be sacrosanct; he had ceased to repose confidence in the classes from which recruits to the service of the state had been obtained in the past. In view of these circumstances the contemporary chronicler's sweeping condemnation loses much of its force. It is stated by him and he is supported by all later writers, who have copied him, that when revolts broke out in the empire, the Sultan appointed to high offices men of low origin in the hope that they would serve him loyally and carry out his orders unhesitatingly. All MSS. of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* mention the names of men of low origin who were elevated to high office by the Sultan.³⁷ The chronicler falls foul of the Sultan for appointing Maqbūl, a slave of Ahmad Ayaz, the Khwajah Jahan, deputy Wazir of Gujarat, a position of great trust and responsibility. He is astonished at this conduct of the Sultan whom he deemed in ability and wisdom the equal of Jamshed and Kai Khusrau, the famous kings of Persia. He concludes his account by saying that the results of this policy soon became manifest in the dissatisfaction of the native *amirs* and the rebellions of the 'centurions.' Barani's exaggerated tirade misrepresents the real state of affairs. The Sultan may have sometimes erred in the selection of some of his officers; he may have been deceived by appearances as persons in his position and circumstances are likely to be, but to characterise this policy as a piece of unsurpassed folly is a travesty of facts. The credit which we might have otherwise attached to Barani's statement is diminished by his condemnation of Maqbūl's appointment to high office, for he was a man of great abilities who afterwards rose to eminence

³⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 505.

³⁷ The names are written with slight variations in the various MSS.

Bankipore MS. f. 251 b.

India Office MS. f. 317 b.

Calcutta Text, p. 505.

Barani says the Sultan appointed to high offices men of ignoble birth. He raised to eminence the son of a fiddler and assigned to him the fiefs of Gujarat, Multan and Badaon. Several other men of low origin were similarly elevated among whom were 'Aziz Khummār, Firuz, a barber, Manakā or Manikalā, a cook, Mas'ūd, a vintner, and Ladhā, a gardener. Other intimate associates of the Sultan mentioned by Barani are Shaikh Bāboo, son of a Paik (foot soldier) and Pirā, a gardener.

under Firuz as is proved by the testimony of Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif and 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani, his great rival and opponent.³⁸

In reorganising the services of the state the Sultan made a marked departure from the accepted policy. The introduction of the alien element in the state to such a large extent was induced by two reasons—the competence of the foreigners to manage properly the affairs of his growing empire and the desire of the Sultan to make himself famous all over the Muslim world. The former was the stronger motive. When a foreigner came into the country, he had to enter into a covenant with the Sultan that he would join his service, otherwise he was not allowed to proceed on his journey. This agreement was attested by the Qazi and signed by the person concerned.³⁹ The highest offices in the state were thrown open to the foreigners. At times the Sultan carried his partiality towards the foreigners too far and showed a lack of discrimination, as is evidenced by the appointment of Ibn Batūtah as the Qazi of Dihli. The traveller protested that he was not competent to administer justice according to the Hanafi law of which he was ignorant, but the Sultan overruled his objections and appointed Bahā-al-Din Multani and Kamal-al-Din Bijnori to assist him in the performance of his duties.⁴⁰

However unexceptionable the Sultan's motives, his policy was fraught with serious consequences. It produced discord in politics and divided the administration into two hostile camps—the Hindustanis and foreigners, both pursuing their own selfish aims and bent upon their own aggrandisement. The Sultan who was anxious to promote the efficiency of his government failed to see the unwisdom of excluding the native element from high offices. The foreigners ill-requited his beneficence and stirred up strife everywhere which threw the administration into a state of disorder.

³⁸ 'Afif, *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Biblioth. Ind., pp. 394—428. *Inshā-i-Māhru*, Asiatic Society of Bengal MS.

³⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 121-22.

Barani laments this change of policy and with characteristic exaggeration dwells upon the favours shown to the foreigners by the Sultan.

Calcutta Text, p. 499.

⁴⁰ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 403.

Though merciless in punishing wrong-doers, the Sultan enjoyed a reputation for his love of justice. Unbiased contemporary writers

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are unanimous in praising his love of justice and impartiality. The author of the *Masālik* says that the Sultan held a special *durbār* for administering justice and his remarks are amply corroborated by Ibn Batūtah. Justice was as usual administered by the Qazi who was aided by the Muftis who expounded the law. The head of the judicial department was the Sadr-i-Jahan Qazi-al-Quzāt (Lord Chief Justice) and below him were Qazis and nāib Qazis who administered justice at the capital as well as in the provinces. The Sultan's brother Mubarak Khan sat with the Qazi in the *Diwan-i-Khānah* to assist him in deciding cases. He occupied the office of *Mirdād* whose duty was to produce in the court any big amir or nobleman against whom a complaint was instituted or a suit was filed and who was too powerful to be controlled by the Qazi. The salary of this officer was fixed at fifty thousand a year, and he was granted a jagir which yielded an equivalent income and a robe of honour embroidered with gold.⁴¹ The Qazi was treated with great regard.⁴² The arm of the law was strong enough to reach the most powerful dignitary of the empire, and it was with a view to secure the fearless and independent discharge of duty that the Sultan created the office of *Mirdād*. He cared nothing for the *Shaiḫs* and the *ʿUlama*; he rejected the doctrine of the inviolability of the sacerdotal order and severely punished its members, if they were found guilty of any wrong—a policy which caused much dissatisfaction in reactionary circles. Justice had so far been a monopoly of the clericalists, but Muhammad Tughluq deprived them of this monopoly and constituted himself into the Supreme Court of Appeal. Ibn Batūtah and Shihāb-al-Din both testify to the Sultan's desire to administer equal justice to all classes of his subjects, and the former gives a detailed account of the manner in which the Sultan suppressed privilege. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, whom Badāoni

⁴¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 400.

⁴² When Ibn Batūtah was appointed Qazi of Dihli, his pay was fixed at 12,000 *dinars* a year in addition to a jagir consisting of five villages which yielded an equal income. Besides these the Qazi was the recipient of numerous gifts and rewards. He was expected to know the Hanafi law and the customs and usages of the people. III, p. 403.

copies, writes that there were four *muftis* stationed in the royal palace. When a case was brought up for trial, the Sultan discussed it with the *muftis* and so strict was he that he gave them a warning that they should be held responsible, if an innocent man's life was destroyed. The *muftis* never hesitated to express the correct view, and if they were defeated in argument, the accused was executed immediately, even if it were the middle of the night. But if the king failed to answer the arguments of the *muftis*, he sent them away and tried to think out an answer to rebut their arguments. If they were unable to convince the Sultan, he forthwith pronounced the sentence, but if he was defeated in argument, the release of the culprit was ordered forthwith.⁴³ This statement regarding the Sultan's love of justice by one who describes him as bloody (Khūni) points to the fact that he loved justice and it is corroborated by contemporary chroniclers.

The author of the *Masālik* and Ibn Batūtah both speak of the easy accessibility of the Sultan and his desire to give even the meanest of his subjects an opportunity of laying his case before him. -- Khojandi informed Shihāb-al-Din that in his public *durbār* which the Sultan held every Tuesday, surrounded by his nobles, judges and other officers of state, he gave a general permission to the people to lay their grievances before him. Petitions were presented to him and his orders were recorded by the *Dabīrs* or secretaries.

Ibn Batūtah, whose evidence is more reliable because he himself held the office of Qazi at the capital writes that twice a week on Monday and Thursday the Sultan held his court of justice in the Hall of Audience (Diwān-i-Khānah), when only four amirs were allowed to be present near him.⁴⁴ These were *amir-i-Hājib*, *Khās Ilājib*, *Sayyid-al-Hujjāb*, and *Sharaf-al-Hujjāb*. The Sultan knew that the aggrieved persons would find it difficult to obtain access to

⁴³ The passage in the MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is to this effect. The king himself became the Supreme Judge and Crown Counsel. If he succeeded in convincing the *muftis* in his first argument, the accused was immediately punished, but if he failed, he thought over the matter again, and had a second discussion. If in the second discussion, he succeeded in convincing the *muftis*, the accused was punished, but if the *muftis* succeeded in worsting him, he released the accused.

The passage in Badāoni substantially agrees with that in the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*. Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh, I. (Biblioth. Ind., pp. 239-40.)

⁴⁴ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 289.

him and therefore he posted four *amirs* at the four gates and ordered them to record the complaints of the public. If a complainant could not get his complaint recorded at the first gate, he went to the amir at the second gate, and if he failed there also then to the third and lastly to the fourth, if the former refused to admit his complaint. In case the last refused, the complainant was permitted to go to the *Sadr-i-Jahan* and failing him he could approach the Sultan. A great many men must have been denied justice in this system of checks and counterchecks, but it illustrates the Sultan's solicitude for justice and his readiness to redress grievances. The Sultan used to examine all these records in the evening, and if any case in which an officer refused to do his duty was brought to his notice, he strongly reprimanded him.

The Sultan was in many respects far in advance of his age. At a time when no government would have tolerated suits against itself by its subjects, Muhammad permitted aggrieved persons to bring their claims against him in law courts, and Ibn Batūtah has recorded three cases in which he saw the Sultan with his own eyes, anxiously endeavouring to meet the ends of justice. The instances cited by the Moor may be dismissed as wholly fictitious, but they go to illustrate the Sultan's impartiality, his love of justice and his desire to redress the grievances of both Hindus and Muslims.⁴⁵ Shaikh Zadah Jāmi's confinement in an iron cage and his ultimate execution related by Yahya bin Ahmad (and reproduced by Badāoni) for calling the Sultan a tyrant to his face will cause no surprise to students of mediaeval history. We might have hesitated to accept Yahya's unsupported testimony, but for the reason that the barbarous punishment inflicted by the Sultan on the Shaikh is in agreement with the tenor of his policy as reflected in the pages of Ibn Batūtah. The Sultan did not punish the Shaikh immediately. He applied to the Qazi to call upon the Shaikh to prove the charge of tyranny. When the Shaikh persisted in repeating the charge, he ordered his imprisonment and execution. The method of punishment was barbarous, but mediaeval rulers were accustomed to punish persons guilty of sedition in this fashion all over the world. The colour given to the story by later writers indicates an attempt on the part of the 'Ulama to malign the character of the Sultan against whom

⁴⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 286.

Ranking, Al-Badāoni, I, pp. 318-19.

they had declared a revolt. The Sultan's justice made no exceptions. He punished the Shaikhs and Maulvis who broke the law, and we can easily follow Barani's statement that not a day passed when the Sultan did not shed innocent Muslim blood, if we bear this in mind.

The Penal law was barbarous. No offender however high his position, could escape his wrath. Neither learning nor piety, nor

The Penal Law. birth was a claim to immunity from punishments which he inflicted for breaches of law or opposition to his own authority.⁴⁶ The *Qurānic* law was not always followed and the Sultan was guided mainly by considerations of policy. Murder, decapitation, and death were the usual penalties, and sometimes the subordinate officers extorted confessions from the accused persons by force as happened in the case of the two Sindhi *Maulvis*.⁴⁷ Torture ~~was~~ employed, and from such victims certificates were obtained to the effect that their confession was voluntary and the officers of the state went through the farce of getting them attested by the Qazi.⁴⁸

There was no law of evidence and no definite procedure. Summary trials were common, and cases were started without sufficient investigation.⁴⁹ Gross mistakes were sometimes made on account of haste and want of proper investigation, as is shown by the case of Malik-al-Ilitijār who was murdered on a charge of treason. The Sultan afterwards regretted his action and cast into prison the informant and confiscated all his goods. The *Diwān-i-Siyāsāt* worked vigorously, and every day hundreds of culprits were brought for punishment.⁵⁰ Outside the first gate of the *Hazār Sitūn* (the thousand-pillared palace) there were platforms on which the executioners were seated. When any person was slain, his head was suspended outside the gate for three days.⁵¹ The corpse of the victim was removed after three days by the *Kafirs* who were specially appointed to do this work and was thrown into a ditch outside the city. The *Kafirs* lived near the ditch and did not allow the relatives of the deceased

⁴⁶ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 290.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, III, pp. 301-2.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 301-2.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 305.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 312-13.

Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi, Elliot III, p. 385

Sīrat, Bankipore MS. Chapter II.

⁵¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 218.

persons to bury their dead bodies unless they were offered some bribe.⁵² The corpse of such a man as Ibrahim *Kharitadār* was buried after the payment of a bribe. Punishment for lapses from virtue was severe, and the mother of Prince Masud was ordered by the Sultan to be stoned to death⁵³ for adultery, and the verdict was pronounced by Qazi Kamal-al-Din. Mutilation was common, and Sultan Fīrūz writes in his *Fatūhāt* that he appeased by means of gifts the heirs of those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand or foot in the time of his late Lord and patron Sultan Muhammad Shah.⁵⁴ Flogging was in vogue, and Ibn Batūtah relates that on one occasion he himself as judge gave eighty stripes to one Rāzi of Multan for making himself drunk and stealing five thousand *dinars* from the house of the treasurer of 'Aziz Khummār where he had put up.⁵⁵ The punishments inflicted upon foreigners were comparatively lighter, and Ibn Batūtah relates instances in which they were excused even when they were guilty of serious offences.⁵⁶

The Kotwāl was an important officer of police. This office had existed under Balban and 'Ala-al-Din. Malik-al-Umra Fakhr-al-Din,

Police and Jails. Kotwāl of Dihli, played an important part in the politics of his time and 'Ala-al-Mulk, the Kotwāl of Dihli, was consulted frequently by 'Ala-al-Din about public affairs. The Kotwāl exercised the functions of a Justice of the Peace and had great influence with the people at large, being the custodian of peace and order. Another important officer of municipal police was the *muhatsib* who is mentioned by Barani, Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik*. His chief duty was to control the market, to examine the weights and measures, and watch the conduct of the people. Besides the police officers, the Sultan had in his service a large number of spies. They reported to him all that happened in his dominion. There were *manhis* or spies of different grades who mixed with the army and the civil population and reported all that the people did and said. They submitted their reports to their superior officer who in turn sent them to his superior officers and in this way they finally reached the Sultan.⁵⁷ These

⁵² Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 339-40.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, pp. 292.

⁵⁴ *Fatūhāt* and *Sīrat*, Bankipore MS.

⁵⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 440.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 333 and pp. 278-80.

⁵⁷ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 387

intelligencers were very active, because the Sultan was anxious to know the position of all those who surrounded him.⁵⁸ At the house of amirs big or small there was a royal slave who informed the Sultan of all their doings. Similarly maidservants were employed in the *harams* of the nobles whose duty it was to inform the sweeper women of what happened in the private apartments, and who in their turn communicated this information to the chief officer of the Criminal Intelligence Department. This officer reported all matters to the Sultan and kept him informed of the movements of 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani on the eve of his rebellion.⁵⁹ The fear of the spies was great, and even the highest officers felt afraid of them.⁶⁰ Great care was taken to acquire full information about the foreigners. When a foreigner came into the country, the *Akhbār nawis* or news-recorders entered in their registers a description of his appearance and dress and the number of his companions, servants and beasts. His movements and actions were carefully watched, and in due course reported to the Sultan. The office corresponded to some extent to the *Wāqa'nawis* of the Mughals.

There were not many jails. The number of prisoners was not large, for the usual punishments were mutilation and death. But the administration of the old forts and castles which were treated as prisons was by no means satisfactory. The regulations were lax and corruption prevailed among the officers. In the capital itself the Sultan interested himself in the welfare of the prisoners. He used to summon them to the *Diwān-i-Khānah* every day and allowed them to bathe and shave themselves on Friday which was observed as a day of rest.

The law of debt was severe in the middle ages in India. Marco Polo who wrote in the thirteenth century observes that when a debtor refused to pay his debt, the creditor went to the king's palace to invoke his protection. Concerning the law of debt, which prevailed in Ma'bar when Marco Polo visited it, he writes: "If a debtor shall have been several times asked by his creditor for payment and shall have put him off from day to day with promises, then if the creditor can once meet the debtor and succeed in drawing a circle round him, the latter must

⁵⁸ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

⁵⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 343.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-87.

not pass out of his circle until he shall have satisfied the claim, or given security for its discharge. If he, in any case, presumes to pass the circle, he is punished with death as a transgressor against right and justice." The traveller himself witnessed a case of this kind, when a foreign merchant drew a circle round the king, which the latter would not pass until the merchant was satisfied.⁶¹ The practice of *Dohāi* or seeking royal protection to enforce the payment of debt was prevalent in India in Ibn Batūtah's time.⁶² Bonds were properly executed and attested by the Qazi. When the creditors failed to recover their money, they resorted to the royal palace to seek the king's protection. When a big man was in debt, his creditors stood before the gate of the palace, and when the indebted nobleman came, they shouted aloud '*dohāi hai Sultan kī*,' implored royal protection and did not allow their client to enter the palace without paying his debts. Reduced to such an awkward position at the palace gate, the debtor either paid the money or requested time for payment. Sometimes the king also paid off the debts of insolvent debtors, and it appears from Ibn Batūtah's statement that some of these men had recourse to this stratagem in order to avoid paying their debts out of their own money. It was considered nothing disgraceful, for Ibn Batūtah himself conspired with his creditors to avoid paying them from his own pocket and asked them to cry '*dohāi*' at the royal gate and prevent him from entering it. The clerks at once communicated this to the Sultan, and forthwith an order was issued that the traveller's debts amounting to fifty-five thousand *dinars* be paid out of the public treasury. Officers were appointed to examine the bonds and documents in possession of creditors, and when they submitted their report regarding the genuineness of the debts the *Khat-i-Khurd* or certificates of payment were issued. Frauds were practised and bribes were demanded and paid.⁶³ From Ibn Batūtah's writings, it appears that public opinion did not condemn it, and in the absence of any restraint on public opinion there was nothing to foster probity among the servants of the state except the fear of the Sultan.

⁶¹ Yule, Marco Polo, II, pp. 279-80. Colonel Yule's note is very interesting. Marco Polo, II, p. 287. This is supported by Rashid-al-Din who refers to the same practice in his *Jām-ut-Tawarikh* which was completed in 1310 A.D.

Elliot, I, p. 88.

⁶² Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 411.

⁶³ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 413-14.

The Sultan's acts of munificence surpass all belief. Whosoever went to pay his respects to him carried with him presents, and because the Sultan gave rich rewards in return, the practice became common. Even those who could not afford to buy a large number of presents borrowed money to procure them. The merchants of Sindh made it their occupation to lend thousands of *dinars* to intending visitors to the royal court, and furnished them with all the necessary equipments.⁶⁴ The amirs, officers of state as well as pious men Shaikhs and Maulvis made presents to the Sultan. The former brought camels, horses, arms, while the latter brought copies of the Holy Book and amulets to ward off evil. Foreigners who came to India, attracted by the Sultan's bounty, brought rich presents with them and were loaded with gifts in return. The practice of making presents increased to such an extent that a separate department grew up and business-like management became necessary.

The conferment of gifts was not a simple matter. To those who were fortunate in securing royal favour, the *Khat-i-Khurd* was issued containing an order that the bearer should be paid the specified amount of money from the royal treasury after proper identification by a certain *Hājib* (Chamberlain). First of all the letter was signed by the man who brought it and identified the recipient of the gift. Then it was signed by three amirs, who in Ibn Batūtah's time were Khan Ā'zam Qutlugh Khan, the Sultan's old tutor, the *Kharitadār*, keeper of the Sultan's pen and paper and Amir Nukbah, the *dawātdār* or the custodian of the king's inkpot. When the letter had been endorsed by these officials, it was taken to the *Diwān-i-Wizārat* or minister's office, where a copy of it was made by the *mutasaddis* or clerks and filed. Then it was sent to the *Diwān-i-Ashrāf*, where a copy of it was made, and lastly it was taken to the *Diwān-al-nazar* (the office of presents), where after being duly registered, a *parwānah* (order) was issued in which the Wazir ordered the royal treasurer to make the payment. The latter entered the amount of money in his account books and carried out the instructions of the Wazir. Probably this elaborate system was devised by the Sultan to prevent corruption and defalcation in a department where fraud could be easily practised. A statement of these *parwānahs* was regularly laid before the king who carefully

⁶⁴ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 98.

examined them. In urgent cases payment was made immediately, whereas in unimportant cases sometimes considerable delay was made, but in no case payments were withheld or cancelled. When a gift was made, a deduction of ten per cent was made by government.⁶⁵ Notwithstanding these checks and counterchecks the department was far from immaculate. The officers were venal and even Ibn Batūtah who held a high judicial office had to offer a bribe to a fellow-officer to expedite payment. Sometimes payments were made after such a long period as six months.⁶⁶

The presents of the foreigners were offered in a public *durbār*. The king examined them himself and rewarded the person according to his position. He was liberal towards his officers of all grades. Every year the governors of cities and officers of the army were given two robes of honour in summer and winter which were received by the officers concerned outside their city-gates with marks of great respect and submission.⁶⁷

Muhammad Tughluq soon after his accession to the throne breathed a new life into the revenue administration. Barani writes that every day a hundred or two hundred *farmans* were issued which were promptly carried out by the *Zamindārs* and provincial governors.⁶⁸ They were sent to the *Diwān-i-talab-ahkām-tauqī'a* which executed them.⁶⁹ The Wazirs, Wālis, and *Mutsariifs* (treasurers) were required to send to the *Diwān-i-Wizārat* (minister's office) at Dihli accounts of receipt and expenditure, and no slackness was noticed even in the provinces. Accounts were carefully examined, and not a *dang* or *dirham* was left in the balance. No allowance was made for distance, and no insolent or disobedient *Khūt* (Hindu landholder) was allowed to remain in office. The arrears were collected with great rigour, and a separate

⁶⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 408.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, III, p. 365.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* writes that this practice was prevalent in the time of Sikandar Lodi, Bankipore Ms.

⁶⁸ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 470.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 470.

This office is mentioned by Hājji-ad-Dabīr also in his History of Gujarat. Barani says these *farmans* were sent to the *Diwan-i-Kharitadār* which had come to be known as *Diwān-i-talab-ahkām-tauqī'a*. This sent orders and instructions to the Wālis and governors in accordance with them. The *Diwān-al-tauqī'a* existed under the Khalifahs. It corresponded to the Privy Council.

officer was appointed to realise them from the 'āmils.⁷⁰ This preliminary settlement was followed by the enhancement of tax in the Doab which has been discussed in a previous chapter. For revenue purposes the land was divided into *Shiqs* and over each *Shiq* was placed a *Shiqdār*, whom Barani frequently mentions, to collect the revenue. But from Ibn Batūtah we learn that besides the *Shiqs* there were other divisions for this purpose. The crown lands in the Doab and in the provinces were divided into groups of one thousand villages and one hundred villages each called the *Hazārah* and the *Sadi* respectively.⁷¹ Hājji-ad-Dabīr speaks of *Hazāri* and *Sadi amirs* in describing the reign of 'Ala-al-Din (Vol. I, p. 817). Ibn Batūtah speaks of the *Hazārah* of Amroha where he found 'Aziz Khummār holding the post of *Wāli-i-Khiraj*. His charge consisted of fifteen hundred villages and yielded a total revenue of sixty lakhs out of which he received one-twentieth as his portion.⁷² Ibn Batūtah has given more details about the organisation of the *Sadi*. He writes: '*Sadi* in that country (Hindustan) denotes a group of one hundred villages. Every *Sadi* has a Chowdhri who is a respectable man chosen from among the Hindus and a *mutсарif* who collects taxes.'⁷³ The *Shiq* was a larger division than either of the two, for Barani writes that the entire Maratha country was divided into four *Shiqs*. In the Provinces, of course, the revenue was collected by the Viceroys who paid to the state the surplus which remained, after deducting the cost of establishment sanctioned by the Sultan. The farming system was in vogue, and sometimes fiefs were given to the highest bidders irrespective of their means or capacity for payment.

⁷⁰ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 295.

It had to prepare all the ordinances issuing from the Khalifah, to enter them in the registers, to impress on them the seal of the Khalifah, consisting usually of a passage from the Quran and finally to expedite their despatch. At the head of this office was the *Wazir*. This office exercised not infrequently the highest supervision on political administration. Kremer, p. 236.

The functions of this office are not exactly similar to those of the Indian office, but it appears that the latter was an imitation of the former.

⁷¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 436-37.

Ibid., p. 388.

It appears from Barani that the *Shiq* was a higher division, for he writes that when the Sultan organised the whole Maratha country after 'Ain-al-Mulk's revolt, he divided it into four *Shiqs* mainly with a view to secure the efficient management of the revenue system. Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 501.

⁷² Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 438.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, III, p. 388.

Barani and Ibn Batūtah both relate instances in which important provinces were farmed out to men who were mere adventurers. Shihab Sultani, surnamed *Nusrat Khan*, misappropriated about a crore of *tankahs* out of the imperial revenue within three years during his tenure of office as governor of Bidar. According to Ibn Batūtah, Daulatabad was farmed out to a Hindu for seventeen crores which he could never pay.⁷⁴ Famine completely dislocated the revenue system of the Sultan, although he took heroic measures to promote agriculture. He advanced loans to the agriculturists to the extent of seventy lakhs, caused wells to be dug, brought waste lands under cultivation and instituted a department of agriculture with an officer especially appointed to look after cultivation.⁷⁵ The subject is so full of interest that a detailed account of the Sultan's measures to afford famine relief will remove many misconceptions that have been formed about him. It will help us to understand the theory of 'man-hunt' popularised by later historians, who took their cue from Barani, who indignantly condemns the punishments inflicted on his native district of Baran.

The Sultan's revenue system was seriously dislocated by the severe famines that marred the glory of his reign, and frustrated all hope of good government. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writes that famine continued for seven years and not a drop of rain fell from heaven and his statement is faithfully reproduced by Badāoni.⁷⁶ We may leave this aside, for much light is thrown upon the subject by the writings of contemporary observers. According to Barani, there was famine when the Sultan enhanced the land-tax in the Doab in 727 A.H. This lasted for some years and thousands of people died of want. In 735 A.H. when the Sultan left for Ma'bar to suppress the revolt of Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah, famine began and prices rose.⁷⁷ When he returned from Ma'bar and proceeded towards Dihli by way of Malwa and Chanderi, he found famine in Dihli and the price

⁷⁴ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 49.

— قحط عام و گرانی غله بوقت سال چنان شد که قطره ز آسمان نیارید

This is doubtless an exaggerated figure.

⁷⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, pp. 498-99.

⁷⁶ The MS. of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* has:

Badāoni copies this statement. Ranking, *Al-Badāoni*, I, p. 316.

⁷⁷ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 480.

of grain was 16 or 17 Jitals per *sīr*.⁷⁸ The Sultan made efforts to restore cultivation but in vain. The severity of famine obliged him to remove his court to Saragdwāri in the Farrukhabad district, where he remained for two and a half years engaged in mitigating the hardship of his subjects. Till 741 A.H. the year in which 'Ain-al-Mulk was suppressed, famine continued, and on his return to Dihli the Sultan again busied himself with measures to promote agriculture. This he did for three or four years. Four years later, when he went to Devagiri to quell the revolt of the 'Centurions,' famine began to be felt in the Deccan, and the Sultan, when he marched from Devagiri to Broach on hearing the news of Taghi's revolt, found grain dear in consequence of which his army suffered great privations. This means that there was famine in 727 A.H. lasting for some years, and again from 735-36 A.H. till 741 A.H., and its severity did not abate, for the Sultan was busy for three or four years during his stay at Dihli after his return from Saragdwāri in distributing *Sondhār* (taqāvi) and organising the office of Amir Koh (Director of Agriculture) which means that from 741 A.H. till the close of 744 A.H. the conditions were again unfavourable in the north. Towards the close of the year 745 A.H. famine was felt in Gujarat, but this seems to have been a temporary depression. Ibn Batūtah materially supports Barani. He agrees with Barani in saying that when the Sultan left for Ma'bar, famine began and grain became dear. Once again he mentions famine in Hindustan and Sindh, but he does not give the date. Then comes the royal migration to Saragdwāri on account of famine and Ibn Batūtah like Barani mentions the prosperity of Kanauj and its vicinity and the loyal assistance rendered by 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers. Firishta in this respect follows Barani rather than the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* and mentions the first famine which synchronised with the introduction of the enhanced cess in the Doab. He speaks of the second famine which the Sultan found raging at Dihli on his return from Ma'bar and the last which continued from the time of the king's removal to Saragdwāri till a few years after the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk, and he refers to the Sultan's organisation of the agricultural department which is alluded to by Barani. In another place in his history Firishta writes that during the reign of this king there was famine on two occasions, and each time for three years;

⁷⁸ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 482.

the people lived in great distress, but this statement is not supported by the account of famines which is contained in the body of his text.⁷⁹ The usual fault of Firishta is that he is not a critical historian and forgets to make his statements consistent. Nizam-al-Din Ahmad who wrote before Firishta, writes that when the Sultan enhanced the tax in the Doab, a drought also took place at that time and there was severe famine in Dihli.⁸⁰ On his return from Ma'bar the Sultan found the whole country of Malwa and the towns along the route to Dihli ruined and desolated by famine. Dihli was ruined also and the price of grain rose to 17 *dirhams* per *sīr*. The distress of famine continued, and the Sultan had to migrate to Saragdwāri where he remained till 741 A.H. When he returned to Dihli, he busied himself with measures to promote agriculture and appointed a separate officer called the *Amir Kohi* or *Goi*. This officer is called *Amir Koh*, *Amir Koi* or *Kohi* or *Goi* in the texts of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*. Hājji-ad-Dabīr writes *Amir Karohi*, and Briggs turns it into *Amurgo* which is not in agreement with the texts. The office existed under 'Ala-al-Din Khilji, for Barani (Biblioth. Ind., p. 240) in the list of officers mentions one Malik Hamid-al-Din as *Amir Koh*. Thus the consensus of opinion is in favour of a longer period of famine than seven years. There is no doubt that famine lasted from 727 A.H. till 741 A.H. with slight interruptions and its effects continued to be felt for a few years more.

During famine the sufferings of the people were unbearable. Thousands perished for want of food. The scarcity of fodder was still more serious and the cattle died in large numbers. Ibn Batūtah's statement gives some idea of the horrible sufferings caused by these famines. In the year 735-36 A.H., when the Sultan had gone towards Ma'bar, the condition of Dihli was deplorable. The traveller saw people selling roasted hides in the market and drinking the blood which oozed out from cows at the time of slaughter.⁸¹ Some Khorasani students informed him that in the city of Agrohā where they lodged one night in a house, they saw a man roasting the leg of a dead body for his own consumption.⁸² Cannibalism

⁷⁹ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 140.

⁸⁰ *Tabqat-i-Akbari* (Biblioth. Ind.), p. 202.

⁸¹ Ibn Batūtah III, pp. 372-73.

⁸² *Ibid.*

was rife in the country. When the distress of the people passed beyond the point of endurance, the Sultan ordered that the inhabitants of Dihli of all ranks, freemen as well as slaves, should be given provisions for a period of six months at the rate of one and a half *ritals* per day. The Qazis, Munshis (clerks) and amirs were appointed to go about the city from parish to parish and prepare lists of persons who stood in need of such relief.⁸³ The *Khānqāhs* or charity-houses also rendered valuable assistance. From the *Khānqāh* of Qutb-al-Din food was distributed to the poor. The Sultan's order was that every day twelve *mans* of flour and twelve *mans* of meat should be cooked daily. Besides this, sugar, ghee, and betels were also distributed among the people.⁸⁴

The cessation of agriculture and the fall in the revenue severely taxed the patience of the administration. Pressed by want and hunger, men took to robbery and pillage and the highways became unsafe. Migration from one place to another became difficult, for the roads were infested with brigands. The Sultan moved to Saragdwāri where 'Ain-al-Mulk and his brothers brought abundant stores of grain from the districts of Oudh and Zafrabad and considerably relieved distress. Famine still stalked the land and on his return to Dihli the Sultan devoted himself with characteristic zeal to the development of agriculture. Firishta's statement⁸⁵ that the king again went to Saragdwāri does not seem to be correct, because the Sultan could not afford to be absent for a long period from the capital, and secondly because the work of agricultural organisation could have been more efficiently managed from Dihli than from Saragdwāri. Besides, neither Barani nor Ibn Batūtah mentions a second migration.⁸⁶ Barani in an obscure passage describes the

According to Ibn Batūtah Agrohā was a village between Hānsi and Sirsā. III, p. 372.

Now it is a village 13 miles from Hisar on the Hisār-Fatehabad road. The ruins of the old city are still visible near the existing village.

⁸³ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 373.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

⁸⁵ Firishta, Lucknow, Text, p. 140.

⁸⁶ Barani distinctly says that after his return from Saragdwāri during his stay of three or four years at the capital the Sultan devoted himself to measures to promote cultivation. He does not say that the Sultan again went to Saragdwāri.

Calcutta, pp. 497-98.

agricultural organisation of the Sultan. The India office, Buhar, Bankipore, Asiatic Society MSS. and the printed Calcutta text of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* differ slightly from one another, but the correct interpretation seems to be as follows. Here is Barani's account:—

"The Sultan invented out of his own original mind many devices to promote agriculture. A device calculated to improve agriculture was called an *aslūb*. If these abstract *aslūbs* had become realities, and if the people had not considered them impossible, there is no doubt that the world would have been filled with good things owing to agricultural prosperity. Money would have flowed into the coffers of the state, and the army would have become large enough to conquer the habitable globe. A special department was created for the promotion of agriculture which was named the *Diwan-i-Amir Kohi* with a staff of officers to carry on its work. An area of 30 *krohs* was farmed on condition that there will not remain in it even a *bālisht* of uncultivated land. The crops were to be changed, barley was to be grown instead of wheat, sugar-cane instead of barley and grapes and dates in place of sugar-cane. A hundred *shiqdars* were appointed, but they turned out greedy, dishonest and thoughtless persons. They promised to give three lakhs of *bighas* of cultivated land and to furnish one thousand horsemen after three years and executed *khat*s or agreements. They also took upon themselves the responsibility of cultivating waste lands. They received from the state horses with embroidered saddles and cloaks of precious cloth together with rich rewards. For every three lakhs of *bighas* of cultivated land which they promised to show they received fifty thousand *tankahs* in cash as an advance from the state. But they squandered the money on personal needs and failed to cultivate the allotted area. In this way the Sultan gave away seventy lakhs of *tankahs* as *Sondhār* or advance of which not even a hundredth or thousandth part was realised.⁸⁷ The avaricious *Shiqdārs*

⁸⁷ This passage is variously written in various texts. I have compared the Bankipore, Buhār and the India Office MSS. with the texts of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Of the four MSS. which I have utilised the India Office and Buhār MSS. seem to be the oldest. The Bankipore MS. agrees with the printed Calcutta text. The Buhār MS. differs from both slightly. It has:

قریب صد سال شتادار در زمین منصور نصب شد

which means that *Shiqdārs* were appointed for a hundred years. But this is

accomplished nothing and the heroic plan ended in failure." Barani writes that if the Sultan had returned from Thatta, he would have severely punished those men for their neglect of duty and false promises.

improbable. Again the same MS. has for every three lakhs of coins they received fifty thousand as advance, but in a line above it has :

سكان لکھ بیگھہ زمین اکھل مزروع و سكان هزار سوار بعد سه سال قبول ميگردند -

which means that the *Shiqdārs* promised to cultivate one lakh of bighas of land and to furnish one thousand horsemen after three years. The A. S. B. MS. and the printed Text (Biblioth. Ind.) both agree. The India Office MS. has :

سكان لکھ تنکھ مزروع : سكان هزار سوار در زمين اکھل بعد سه سال قبول گردند

The phrase *سكان لکھ تنکھ مزروع* is not quite clear. It is clearly *سكان لکھ بیگھہ مزروع* three lakhs of bighas of cultivated land. It is not one lakh, for *سكان* and *سكان* are differently written in the text and *لکھ* is surely the mistake of the scribe for *بیگھہ* (Bigha). From the context it is clear that for every three lakhs of bighas of land which the *Shiqdārs* promised to cultivate they received from the treasury an advance of fifty thousand.

The correct reading is *سكان لکھ بیگھہ در سه سال* instead of *سكان لکھ تنکھ در سه سال* and *سكان لکھ تنکھ در سه سال* of the Buhār and the A. S. B. Texts. Hājji-ad-Dabīr very clearly paraphrases Barani's passage and there is not the slightest ambiguity or confusion in his account. He writes that the *Shiqdārs* promised to give three lakhs of bighas of cultivated land and one thousand horsemen after a period of three years. For every three lakhs of bighas of land they received fifty thousand *tankahs* as advance. The word *Sondhār* (*سوندهار*) is probably a Hindi word which is used for advance. The context makes it clear that it has the same sense as the word *taqāwī* which is a loan advanced to the cultivators by the British Government in India during famine. That the word is used for *taqāwī* is made clear by Firishta who uses the word *taqāwī* instead of Barani's *Sondhār*.

The *Tabqāt* says eighty lakhs and odd of *tankahs* were spent in two years. Firishta agrees with Barani as regards the amount, but says that it was spent in two years. Barani's statement is, however, preferable.

References :

- Buhār MS. p. 151.
- Bankipore, MS. ff. 247-48.
- A. S. B. MS. (pages not numbered).
- India Office MS. ff. 314-15.
- Biblioth. Ind. pp. 498-99.
- Tabqat-i-Akbari* (Biblioth. Ind.), p. 230.
- Firishta, Lucknow, Text, p. 140.
- Briggs' translation does not agree with the Text which I have utilised. I, p. 433.
- Elliot in his translation of Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz 'Shahi* has omitted the passage altogether. Vol. III.

Besides the land revenue the state had other sources of income. In the matter of taxation the Sultan adopted a policy which was in marked contrast with the orthodox tradition.

Taxation.

The exponents of this school sanctioned only four taxes—*Khīrāj*, *Zakāt*, *Jeziyah* and *Khams*, which are permitted by the sacred law. The recognised practice of the time was—and the orthodox jurists of the Hanafī School strongly advocated it—that the Hindus should be taxed heavily as they had been in the reign of 'Ala-al-Din. The *Jeziya* seems to have been levied, for it was demanded when the emperor of China sought the Sultan's permission to repair a Buddhist shrine near Sambhal.⁸⁸ The Sultan did not submit to the advice of the 'Ulama and continued to levy a number of taxes. Ibn Batūtah writes that after his acknowledgment of the sovereignty of the Egyptian Khalifah in 741 A.H. the Sultan abolished all taxes except 'Ushr and *Zakāt*.⁸⁹ The statement of Ibn Batūtah is partially corroborated by 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani, a contemporary writer, who in one of his letters makes mention of the abolition of certain taxes by Sultan Muhammad among which he names the *mandavah*, *takāh*, *māl maujūd*, *Chahār bāzār*, *Zarāyab*, *Guzrahā* and *Khīrāj mutharfah*. It does not appear that these taxes were abolished for ever, for the author of the *Sīrat* gives a long list of taxes which were abolished by Firuz after his accession to the throne, and his statement is corroborated by the Sultan himself who in his autobiographical memoir, the *Fatuhāt-i-Firuz Shahi* takes credit for abolishing a number of unlawful taxes. The taxes mentioned by the author of the *Sīrat* are⁹⁰ :—

- | | | |
|-----------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| (1) Mandah tarkat | ... | Market dues. |
| (2) Dalālat-i-Bāzārḥā | ... | Brokerage. |
| (3) Jazārī | ... | Tax on butchers. |
| (4) Amiri tarb | ... | Tax on Music and Dancing. |
| (5) Gul Faroshi | ... | Tax on perfumery. |

⁸⁸ Ibn Batūtah IV. pp. 1-2.

⁸⁹ Ibn Batūtah gives 741 A.H. as the date of abolition. III, p. 288.

⁹⁰ The Bankipore MS.

The *Fatūhāt* mentions 24 taxes. Most of them are the same as those mentioned in the *Sīrat*. In the case of some there is difference in spelling which is unavoidable in Persian MSS.

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----|--|
| (6) Zariba tambol | ... | Tax on betels. |
| (7) Chankri or Chungi
ghalah | ... | Octroi duty on grain. |
| (8) Kitābi | ... | Tax on sale of books. |
| (9) Nil Kari | ... | Tax on Indigo. |
| (10) Māhi Faroshi | ... | Tax on sale of fish. |
| (11) Nadāfi | ... | Tax on cotton cleaning. |
| (12) Sābun Kari | ... | Tax on soap making. |
| (13) Rishmān Faroshi | ... | Tax on sale of silk. |
| (14) Roghan Kari | ... | Tax on ghee. |
| (15) Khizrāwāt | ... | Tax on vegetables. |
| (16) Qammār Khānā | ... | Tax on gambling. |
| (17) Nakhud Biryān gari | ... | Tax on parched grain. |
| (18) Tahbāzāri | ... | Ground rent of stalls or shops
in the market. |
| (19) Jhābā or Chāppā | ... | A fee for stamps set upon
stacks. |
| (20) Charāi | ... | Pasture dues. |
| (21) Karhi | ... | House tax. |
| (22) Dalgānah | ... | Tax on money dealers. |
| (23) Marsūmāt Dādbaki | ... | Fees for Dādbak. |
| (24) Kotwāli | ... | Fees for Kotwāls. |
| (25) Ihtasābi | ... | Fees for the Inspector of
Markets. |

The *Fatūhāt* mentions the following taxes which Firuz found in vogue on his accession to the throne :—

| | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| (1) Mandavi bārk. | (13) Rishmān Faroshi. |
| (2) Dalalat-i-bāzārkhā. | (14) Nakhud Biryān. |
| (3) Jazāri. | (15) Tahbāzāri. |
| (4) Amiri tarab. | (16) Chappāh. |
| (5) Gul Faroshi. | (17) Qammār Khānā. |
| (6) Chungi Ghalah. | (18) Dādbanki. |
| (7) Jāriba-i-tambol. | (19) Kotwāli. |
| (8) Kitābi. | (20) Roghan kari. |
| (9) Nilgari. | (21) Ahatsābi. |
| (10) Māhi Faroshi. | (22) Karhi. |
| (11) Nadāfi. | (23) Charāi. |
| (12) Sābun kari. | (24) Musādarāt. |

Kabābi in the *Sīrat* is Kitābi in the *Fatūhāt* which seems to be correct. Similarly Nadāfi is the correct reading in place of Talāfi in the Text.

The *Fatūhāt* mentions other dues in addition to these. The loss from the abolition of these taxes Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif estimates at 30,00,000 tankahs.

Some of these taxes, for example *mustaghall* or ground rent, Jazāri and Rozi are mentioned by 'Afif in his *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*.

The evidence of these two works written by men who had lived through Muhammad's reign goes against Ibn Batūtah. Even if we accept his statement to be correct, it seems almost certain that the abolition of all taxes except '*Ushr* and '*Zakāt* was only a passing phase induced by the Sultan's excessive devotion to the 'Abassid Khalifah. Muhammad formally acknowledged the Khalifah's sovereignty in 741 A.H. which means that these taxes were levied from 725 A.H. till 741 A.H. for about sixteen years without a break. They may have been suspended for a short time, but it is fairly certain that they were reintroduced as soon as the odd phase alluded to above was over, otherwise how could Firuz find them in vogue after his accession? We might have doubted the solitary testimony of the *Fatūhāt* which is an autobiographical work tinged with self-praise, but it is corroborated by the *Sīrat* and the details agree with slight variations. Besides, the financial position of the empire, seething with revolt everywhere towards the close of the year 742 A.H., did not justify such a wholesale remission.

Customs duties were levied by the state. When Ibn Batūtah crossed Multan on his way to Dihli, he had to pay a heavy toll and his luggage was searched by the customs officers and a duty of 25 per cent was levied on all goods and a tax of seven *dinars* for one horse. But the same authority informs us that these duties were abolished by the Sultan two years after his arrival *i.e.*, sometime in 1336 A.D.⁹¹

According to the canon law, the share of the state was fixed at one-fifth in the spoils obtained with the help of the army of Islam and the rest, *i.e.*, four-fifths was allowed to the captors. The clericalists had always insisted upon this practice being observed by kings. Weaker men had bowed to the will of the '*Ulama*, but 'Ala-al-Din disregarded the command of the law and revised the old rule. Muhammad continued to enforce the revised scale. Out of the booty captured from the 'infidels' one-fifth only was allowed to the army and the remaining four-fifths was appropriated by the *Bet-al-Māl* or the Public treasury, which was at the disposal of the Sultan. It was the priest-ridden Firuz who restored the old proportion and fixed the share of the *Bet-al-Māl* at one-fifth.⁹²

⁹¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 117.

⁹² *Sīrat*, Bankipore, MS.

Fatūhāt, Elliot, p. 377.

As the government was a military despotism, the maintenance of a large standing army was a necessity for, without it, it was

impossible to manage such a huge empire, greater in extent than that of Akbar. The

The Military Administration.

author of the *Masālik-al-Absār*, who derived his information in certain cases from men who had served in the army of the Sultan of Dihli writes⁹³ that the royal army consisted of 900,000 horsemen, some of whom were stationed near the Prince and the rest were distributed in the provinces, 3,000 caparisoned elephants with *howdahs* (towers) placed upon them, each carrying from six to ten fighters, and 20,000 Turkish mamluks, who marched by the king's side and fought in front of him. Besides these there were 10,000 eunuchs, 1,000 spearmen, 1,000 *bashmaqḍārs* and 200,000 slaves who marched with the Sultan.⁹⁴ These figures seem to have been considerably exaggerated, but there is no doubt that the strength of the imperial army in these times was formidable. Barani and Ibn Batūtah mention the huge armies which the Sultan collected in order to lead his expeditions against hostile chiefs. According to Barani, when the Sultan formed the project of a Khorasanese expedition, 370,000 horsemen were enrolled in the muster-master's office (*Diwān-i-'Arz*) and *lakhs* and *Crores* were spent from the public treasury in maintaining them for one year.⁹⁵ This does not include the provincial auxiliaries, for surely the provinces could not have been depleted of their troops for an expedition outside Hindustan. Ibn Batūtah in his account of the Qarājil expedition estimates the royal army which marched under the command of Malik Nukbah at one hundred thousand horse and foot.⁹⁶ Excepting the figures given by the author of the *Masālik* there are no data which can enable us to arrive at the correct numbers of the army. A study of later military systems will enable

⁹³ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

Muhammad Khojandi and Shaikh Mubarak had seen the conquests of Muhammad Tughluq. Muhammad Khojandi had been in the military service of the Sultan for sometime.

⁹⁴ Some of these figures seem to have been exaggerated, but they serve to show the great military strength of the Sultan of Dihli. The author of the *Masālik* was told by his informants that no country in the world could be compared with India in respect of the number of its armies.

⁹⁵ Barani, Calcutta, Text, p. 477.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, III, p. 478.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 325.

us to form some idea of the military strength of Muhammad Tughluq. Sultan Firuz whose empire was confined merely to the northern region had 90,000 horse in Dihli in addition to the provincial garrisons and the slave corps which numbered 180,000.⁹⁷ That the army of Firuz was sufficiently large is indicated by the huge levies which he mobilised to suppress rebellions in the provinces. During his first expedition against Lakhnauti the army contained 90,000 horse and during the second it contained 70,000 cavalry, 470 elephants and a large number of boats. The infantry too must have been considerable, for we find it mentioned in the case of the provincial armies. Shams-al-Din of Bengal opposed the Sultan with 10,000 horse, lakhs infantry and 50 elephants and Jām Bābiniyah of Sindh was able to collect 20,000 cavalry and 4 lakhs infantry. Even if we make allowance for the fact that a large number of men must have been irregulars, it must be admitted that the strength of the royal army was considerable. The number of slaves given by the *Masālik* in Muhammad's reign, does not seem to be correct for in speaking of the slave-system of Firuz, Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif writes that the number of slaves had increased out of all proportion. He further adds that none of the Sultan's predecessors had ever collected so many slaves. The largest corps was 50,000 under 'Ala-al-Din and after him no Sultan had raised a large body of them until the time of Firuz.⁹⁸ The strength of Sher Shah's army is given as one lakh fifty thousand cavalry, 25,000 infantry, 5,000 elephants exclusive of the garrisons in the 47 Sarkārs of his empire.⁹⁹ Muhammad must have surely needed a larger army than that of Firuz and Sher Shah, for he had to rule a vast empire teeming with hostile races. The army consisted of men of all nationalities—Turks, Khātians, Persians and Indians. There were among them not only skilled horsemen and soldiers, but also excellent athletes and numerous archers who possessed strong bodies and who were well-versed in the art of fighting.¹⁰⁰ Foreigners were largely employed in the army so that the *amirs sadāh* were to be found in all parts of the empire. All these were entered in the registers of the muster-master's office. In times of need the Sultan could summon forces from the provinces

⁹⁷ 'Afif, Cal. Text. pp. 270—298.

⁹⁸ 'Afif, Cal. Text, pp. 272.

⁹⁹ Qanungo, *Sher Shah*, pp. 367-68.

¹⁰⁰ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

and Barani and Ibn Batūtah both agree that during the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk forces were called from Samana, Amroha, Baran, Kol, and Ahmadabad.¹⁰¹

As has been said before, the officers of the state combined civil and military functions and therefore we cannot point to any functionaries performing exclusively military duties. The officers mentioned in the *Masālik* are the *Khans*, *maliks*, *amirs*, *Sipahsālārs* and *Jund*. The officers of the highest rank were called *Khans* and below them came the *maliks*, then the *amirs*, then the *Isfahsālārs* or *Sipahsālārs*, and last of all the *Jund*, a military officer whose rank was below the *Sipahsālārs*. The *Khans* were about eighty in number, and held grants which yielded two *lakhs* of *tankahs* a year, each *tankah* being equal in value to eight *dirhams*. The *Khan* was a commander of ten thousand horse. Under the *Khans* were the *maliks* who held a *Jagir* which yielded between fifty and sixty thousand *tankahs* a year and commanded one thousand horse. The *amir* held a grant which brought him an income of thirty to forty thousand a year, and had one hundred horse under his command. The *Sipahsālār* was allowed an income of about twenty thousand and commanded a smaller number of horse than the *malik* and the *amir*. The pay of the *Jund* varied from ten to one thousand *tankahs* and the *Jagir* allotted to him sometimes yielded an income double of its estimated value.¹⁰² These officers were paid by assignment of the government revenue from land, and as Irvine rightly says in describing the Mughal army, the central government which was strong at the centre, but weak at the extremities, was glad to be relieved of the duty of collecting and bringing in the revenue from distant places.¹⁰³ The soldiers and *mamluks* were given no lands and drew their pay from the public treasury. The grant of the

¹⁰¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 489.

¹⁰² *Masālik*. Paris MS.

The military service seems to have been a graded one. The *Khān* was the highest officer of a force of 10,000 horse and *Jund* was the lowest.

This classification of officers existed in the time of Firuz, as is shown by the account of the military organisation of that ruler. It appears from his narrative that there was a graded service under Firuz. Payments were made both by assignments of land revenue and by cash. In Muhammad's day officers were given assignments of land revenue but soldiers were paid in cash from the treasury.

¹⁰³ Afif, Cal. Text. p. 296.

¹⁰³ Irvine, *The Army of the Mughals*, p. 14.

officers was liable to be reduced or stopped at the pleasure of the Sultan. This finds confirmation in Ibn Batūtah who, in speaking of Amir Bakht Sharaf-al-Mulk, writes that the Sultan, being displeased with him, reduced his rank from forty thousand to one thousand.¹⁰⁴ The pay of a soldier was fixed at five hundred *tanqahs*, besides food, clothes and fodder for his horse. This was certainly higher than the pay allowed by 'Ala-al-Din to his troops, which was 234 *tanqahs* for a *murattab* (well-equipped man) with an addition of 78 for a man with two horses,¹⁰⁵ but it must be remembered that the prices of the necessities of life were extremely low in 'Ala-al-Din's time on account of the Sultan's control of the market. Besides the officers mentioned in the *Masālik*, there were in the military department other officers such as the Bakhshi (paymaster of the forces), *Nāib-i-Fauj* (commander-in-chief) and the '*Ariz-i-Mamālik* (muster-master).

Artillery was not known in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, but rockets or naphtha balls were used. Amir Khusrau in his *Khazāyan-al-Fatūh* gives a detailed account of the catapults and other instruments of war which were used by 'Ala-al-Din in his campaigns and sieges. Fire balls, fire arrows, western stone-balls, *manjriqs*, '*Arrādās* and redoubts were used, and we find Muhammad himself making use of *Maghrabis*, '*arrādās*, *manjriqs* and *nawāks* in the siege of Warangal in 1323 A.D.¹⁰⁶ The main strength of the army consisted in its elephant corps and cavalry which were always employed in keen contests. Archery was widely practised and Ibn Batūtah speaks of archers and sharp-shooters of great skill and dexterity. He found at Multan a number of men who performed feats of skill in archery and horsemanship. A man's promotion was determined by the amount of skill shown by him in performing these feats.¹⁰⁷ Some idea of the magnificence of the royal army may be formed from the account of the manner in which the Sultan marched to the field of battle, given by the author of the *Masālik*. When the Sultan organised his forces for battle, he placed himself

¹⁰⁴ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 358.

The Text of I. B. has *درجہ* which means rank. The French translators render it into pension which does not convey the real meaning.

¹⁰⁵ Barani, Calcutta, Text, p. 303.

¹⁰⁶ Barani, Calcutta, Text, pp. 446-447.

¹⁰⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 119-20.

Ibn Batūtah gives a detailed account of these tournaments which he witnessed at Multan.

in the centre surrounded by *Imams* and learned men with archers in front of and behind him. The right and left were occupied by the cavalry. In front were the elephants covered with iron sheets to shield them against attack and carrying upon their backs *howdahs* in which warriors were seated. These *howdahs* had holes through which arrows and *nift* could be thrown towards the enemy. In front of the elephants were the slaves on foot clad in uniforms and well-equipped with arms who cleared the way for the elephants. They cut with their swords the hamstrings of horses, while the archers seated in the *howdahs* discharged the arrows. The cavalry on the right and left closed in upon the enemy making it impossible for any one to escape.¹⁰⁸ Such were the traditional tactics of the right, left, and centre employed by the Sultan in fighting against his enemies in India.¹⁰⁹

The Sultan took a great interest in the well-being of the army and himself superintended its affairs. The efficiency of the army remained unimpaired during the first half of the reign, for up to the year 1342 A.D., the Sultan's arms had almost invariably triumphed against rebels in Hindustan. But jealousies and dissensions existed and the mutual bickerings of the Hindustani and the foreign *amirs* often hampered unity of action. From 1342 A.D., onwards we find a perceptible diminution of strength in the royal army, which was in some measure due to the general decline of the administration caused by famine and the failure of the Sultan's cherished schemes. During the Deccan revolt the 'Centurious' succeeded in inflicting a crushing defeat upon 'Imad-al-Mulk, the Imperial general. The army of Muhammad Tughluq was certainly less efficient than that of 'Ala-al-Din, and if it had been matched against foes like those whom 'Ala-al-Din had encountered, it would have had little chance of success. Whatever its numerical strength towards the close of Muhammad's reign, the dearth of capable generals was conspicuous.

¹⁰⁸ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

Quatremere, *Notices des Manuscrits*, XIII. pp. 202-3.

¹⁰⁹ Barani and Ibn Batūtah make frequent mention of these tactics. The army was thus arranged for battle :

| | | | | | |
|----------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------------|
| Harāwal | ... | ... | ... | ... | Vanguard. |
| Maisarah | ... | ... | ... | ... | Left wing. |
| Maimanah | ... | ... | ... | ... | Right wing. |
| Qalb | ... | ... | ... | ... | Centr |

The lowering of the standard of efficiency, the decline of military vigour and the absence of competent generalship which are in evidence during the latter years of Muhammad's reign are conspicuous in the military campaigns of the next reign.

The Provincial
administration.

The empire was divided into provinces. The
Bibliothèque Impériale Paris MS. of the *Masālik*
mentions the following twenty-three provinces.

- | | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Dihli. | (12) Gujarat. |
| (2) Devagiri. | (13) Badaon. |
| (3) Multan. | (14) Oudh. |
| (4) Kuhram. | (15) Kanauj. |
| (5) Samana. | (16) Lakhnauti. |
| (6) Siwistān (Sewān). | (17) Bihar. |
| (7) Ucch. | (18) Kara. |
| (8) Hansi. | (19) Malwa. |
| (9) Sirsuti. | (20) Lahore. |
| (10) Ma'bar. | (21) Kalanor. |
| (11) Telang. | (22) Jajnagar. |

(23) Dwarsamudra.

At the end of the list the MS. has إقليم دهر وندر and إقليم تلنگ, namely, the provinces of Telang and Dwarsamudra. The province meant is Dwarsamudra for Telang has already been included in the list, and the confusion is probably due to the author's ignorance of the geography of the far South. Quatrémère in his '*Notices des Manuscrits*' (Tome XIII. pp. 167—70), makes the same mistake and mentions Telang with Dwarsamudra again. Barani's list is not exhaustive, for he mentions only twelve important provinces,¹¹⁰ which are more or less the same as mentioned in the *Masālik*.

¹¹⁰ The provinces mentioned by Baranī are :—

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| (1) Dihli. | (5) Telang. | (9) Tirhut. |
| (2) Gujarat. | (6) Kampila. | (10) Lakhnauti. |
| (3) Malwa. | (7) Dhorsamundar. | (11) Satgaon. |
| (4) Devagiri. | (8) Mábar. | (12) Sonargāon. |

Calcutta Text, p. 468.

Kuhram is mentioned in the *Ain-i-Akbari* in the Sarkar of Sirhind. Jarrett II, p. 105.

Kalanor is mentioned in the Sarkar of Bārī Doāb.

Jarrett, II, p. 319.

Tieffenthaler I, p. 104.

The others are too well-known to need a note.

Each province was entrusted to a governor who was called the *Nāib Sultān* and who was invested with the chief civil and military authority. It was a replica of the empire, and the Sultan's deputy, as long as he remained in office, exercised authority like a despot. His functions were multifarious. He was the chief executive, judicial and military head of the province. He occupied a position analogous to that of a feudal baron, whose remuneration was a charge upon the public revenues of his fief. After defraying the cost of his establishment he remitted the surplus to the imperial capital. As the empire consisted of half-subdued races, ever ready to assert their independence, it was not possible to exercise a vigilant control over the local administration from the capital or to suppress popular risings which easily assumed formidable dimensions. The inevitable result of this was that governors were appointed for short periods and were liable to be called back at any moment. Muhammad tried to maintain a vigilant control over the local administrations. He was so much feared and respected that when the customary *Khil'ats*, (robes of honour) were sent to governors of cities and officers of the army twice a year, they came out of their cities a long way to receive them. When they approached the person who brought the *Khil'at*, they alighted from their conveyances. Each took his *Khil'at* and placed it upon his shoulders and turning his face towards the Sultan made obeisance.¹¹¹

The Sultan's solicitude for efficient government led him sometimes to remove from their charges even veteran governors in a peremptory manner, and Qutlugh Khan's recall owing to the misfeasance of his *Karkuns* or servants is an instance in point. But the efficiency of the provincial administration suffered from the jealousies and suspicions which are inseparable from autocracy. The insecurity of tenure, the lack of co-operation among officers, the intrigues of designing persons who poisoned the ears of the emperor against a spirited governor, who did not pander to the wishes of the clique at Dihli, tended to make good government difficult, if not impossible.¹¹² The evils of the farming system some-

¹¹¹ Ibn Batūtah III, p. 365.

The author of the *Tarikh-i-Daudi* (Bankipore MS.) writes that such practice was in vogue in the time of Sikandar Lodi who was a powerful king.

¹¹² Ibn Batūtah speaks of the strained relations that existed between 'Aziz Khummār, the Wāli of Amroha and Shams-al-Din Badakhshani, the Amir.

times caused much inconvenience to the population. Corruption and extortion were common. The almost regal state in which the provincial governor lived entailed a huge expenditure so that his constant need for money obliged him to have recourse to shifty devices. Both Barani and Ibn Batūtah relate instances in which the Sultan intervened to set aside dishonest and incapable governors.¹¹³ Peace and order was imperfectly maintained in the provinces, as is shown by the Jalali outbreak of which a detailed account is given by Ibn Batūtah.¹¹⁴

Each governor had a local militia which was paid from the treasury of the state and he was required to supply his quota for purposes of imperial defence in time of need. Away from the capital, the provincial satraps had often to act on their own responsibility, with the result that the continued enjoyment of absolute authority led ambitious men to attempt to shake off the yoke of the sovereign power. During the early part of his reign the provinces were held in a firm grip by Muhammad, and the contemporary chronicler speaks with approval of the *farmans* and mandates which were issued to the *Wālis* and *nāibs*, in the provinces. Tributes and presents were sent to Dihli with a regularity never seen before.¹¹⁵ But when the 'Centurions' found their way into the provinces, a peculiar situation developed, which the Sultan found it difficult to control. His retaliatory attitude completed the ruin of all his schemes, and despite his efforts to restore order the governors rebelled and set up their independence.

The different parts of the empire were connected by a regular horse and foot post, which resembled the post-relays of Egypt and Syria. The post had existed under the Postal System. 'Ala-al-Din and Ghiyas-al-Din Tughluq and Barani tells us that on one occasion during the reign of the latter,

Several other instances can be cited from the Deccan. The recall of Qutluḡ Khan and the revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk were due to court intrigues.

During Firuz's reign again we find bitter jealousy between Khan-i-Jahan Maqbūl and 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani the two distinguished officers of the state. Such jealousies and hostilities were common in the 14th century.

¹¹³ Ibn Batūtah writes that Malik Majīr Ibn Abu Rajā, the governor of Biyānah, behaved like a tyrant. The people complained to the Sultan who punished him with imprisonment.

Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IV, pp. 8-9.

¹¹⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 469.

the posts were dislocated by a heavy downpour of rain, which made it possible for 'Ubaid and his associates to circulate abroad the rumour of the Sultan's death. Both Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik* give a detailed account of the postal system as it existed in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, who lived at a time when some of the posts of Muhammad Tughluq's time still existed, supports Barani, Ibn Batūtah and Shihāb-al-Din and writes: "In 727 A.H., the Sultan started for Devagiri. He established a *Dhāwah*¹¹⁶ (post at each *Kroh*) from Dihli to Devagiri and gave lands to the men there for purposes of cultivation. The income from these lands was equal to their salary which was fixed by the Sultan. These men were to carry the *Dāk* from one *Dhāwah* to another. At every stage a palace was erected and a *Khāngāh* which was placed in charge of a Shaikh who was to provide the travellers with food, water, and betel leaves. Along both sides of the road, he planted many trees which exist to this day."¹¹⁷ The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* is copied by all later writers. The post was called *Barīd*,¹¹⁸ and it was of two kinds—the horse-post and the foot-post. The former was called *aulāq* and the latter *Dhāwah*. For the former horses were supplied by the state and they were changed after every four miles. But the foot-post was swifter than the horse-post. There were three posts¹¹⁹ in a *Kroh* and near every post was a village, but the distance between them was smaller than in Egypt and Syria. At every post

¹¹⁶ Ibn Batūtah writes *Dāwah*. Badāoni who follows Yahya has *Dhāwah*. He writes: "And in the year 727 A.H. the Sultan having formed the design of proceeding to Deogir, posted a chain of *Dhāwah*, that is to say, *paiks*, or 'unners as guards at a distance of one *Kroh* along the whole road from Dihli to Deogir built a monastery at each stage and appointed a Shaikh to each."

Ranking, *Al-Badaoni* I, p. 302.

The word *Dhāwah* is a corrupted form of the Sanskrit word *Dhāwak* from the root *Dhāwā* which means to run. *Dhawak* means a runner. *Paik* is a Persian word which means a running footman, a carrier or messenger. Barani also uses the word *Dhāwah*.

Calcutta Text, pp. 481-82.

¹¹⁷ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi MS.*

¹¹⁸ *Barīd* means a courier or messenger.

Under the 'Abbasid Khalifahs a similar postal system existed. The head of the postal department was called the *as-Sāhib-al-Barīd*. Ameer Ali, *History of the Saracens*, pp. 417-18.

¹¹⁹ This is different from what the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* writes. Some of these posts may have disappeared in course of time. The testimony of Ibn Batūtah is more reliable in a matter like this.

ten swift runners were stationed, well-equipped for the journey, armed with staffs with ringing bells attached to their top. It was their duty to carry letters and messages from one place to another. The courier took his letters in one hand and his staff which was two yards in length in the other and ran at full speed and handed over the letters to the next runner who kept himself ready in advance. As soon as the next man got the letters, he began his journey as rapidly as he could and passed on the letters to the next runner who waited for his arrival at his post. In this way letters were conveyed from one place to another with great facility and quickness in spite of long distances. Sometimes fruits and other edibles from Persia and Khorasan were also brought for the Sultan by this post.¹²⁰ At each of these postal stations the state had built for the comfort of the wayfarers mosques, reservoirs of drinking water and markets, where the necessities of life could be purchased. The post was also used at times to convey criminals guilty of serious offences, to the capital or the headquarters of the province to receive immediate punishment.¹²¹ From Dihli to Daulatabad, at every station, drums were placed, which were beaten when an unusual event occurred in either of the two cities and in this way the Sultan was quickly informed of what happened in either city during his absence.¹²² The gates of cities were opened and closed at the appointed hours which were proclaimed to the people by beat of drums. It appears from the accounts of Ibn Batūtah and the *Masālik* that the posts had much improved in the time of Muhammad Tughluq.

Like other oriental monarchs Muhammad maintained a splendid court which was an inevitable necessity in the middle ages. The

The Court. author of the *Masālik* observes with pardonable exaggeration that no country in the world could

be compared with India in respect of the pomp and splendour displayed by the sovereign in his progress and habitations and the power of his empire. At the court of Muhammad Tughluq there were twelve hundred philosophers, ten thousand falconers who rode on their horses and carried birds trained for hawking, three thou-

¹²⁰ Ibn Batūtah writes that when he was in Daulatabad the Sultan used to get Ganges water for drinking purposes from the north by means of this post. Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 96.

¹²¹ Ibn Batūtah III, pp. 95-96.

¹²² *Masālik*, Paris MS.

sand beaters,¹²³ five hundred table companions, twelve hundred musicians who did not include the slaves and maids well up in music, one thousand slaves charged with the duty of teaching music, and one thousand poets proficient in the Arabic, Persian and Indian languages.¹²⁴ These figures of the *Masālik* are in most cases uncorroborated, but although they are exaggerated they indicate the Sultan's magnificence. All these men were excellent in their branches and received handsome salaries and presents from the Sultan. Some of them received grants of land, yielding an income of twenty thousand to forty thousand *tankahs*, in addition to the rewards and gifts which the Sultan conferred upon those who attended his court. The companions of the table and musicians did not all come together at once, but according to their turn on the roll, and so did the Dabirs, lawyers and other minor officials of the state. The poets were presented before the Sultan several times in the year at stated intervals such as the two fêtes and the first day of Ramzan. Sometimes they waited upon him to present him with odes to felicitate him on the acquisition of victory in battle.¹²⁵ Ibn Batūtah also speaks of the grandeur of the Sultan and in the odes of Badr-i-Chāch we obtain a glimpse of the might and majesty of his court.

The Sultan held two *durbārs*—the *Durbār-i-‘ām* and the *Durbār-i-Khas* which were characterised by great magnificence and liberality. The author of the *Masālik* relying upon the information supplied to him by Muhammad Khojandī, who had been in the service of the Sultan of Dihli, writes that the Sultan held a special session of the *Durbār-i-‘ām* on Tuesday in an open plain

¹²³ The Arabic Text of the *Masālik* has beaters and not a dealer as Elliot translates it. Quatrémère gives a correct translation.

Quatrémère, XIII, p. 185.

¹²⁴ Elliot, III, p. 579.

The figures given by Elliot in his translation are different . . . much smaller than those given in the text. I have followed the Bibliothèque Impériale text. I do not know why Elliot alters the figures. Quatrémère follows the text with greater correctness.

Uncorroborated as these figures are I am inclined to think that they are in some cases exaggerated.

¹²⁵ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

Quatrémère, XIII, p. 186.

where he received petitions and complaints from the general public, and adds that the ordinary sessions of the *Durbār* were held every day in the morning and evening.¹²⁶ Ibn Batūtah who attended these *Durbārs* does not mention the special session alluded to by the author of the *Masālik*, though he mentions a small *durbār* of justice, attended by a few leading officers, but he gives a detailed account of the *Durbār-i-‘ām* which was held in the thousand-pillared palace with great pomp and splendour both in the morning and evening. The special session of the *Durbār-i-‘ām* mentioned by *Shihāb-al-Din* and the *Durbār-i-Insāf* (of justice) of Ibn Batūtah do not seem to be identical, for there is much divergence between the accounts of the two authorities, although the functions of both are similar. The *Durbār-i-Insāf* was something like a supreme court of justice, which was attended by a few high officials of the crown. The other was a public levee where the Sultan summoned all his leading officers and secretaries and it was much grander in appearance than the somewhat solemn *Durbār* of justice.

The *Durbār* on Tuesday was not such an imposing ceremony as the *durbār* on other days. All the officers of the king stood around him with the exception of the *Khans*, the *Sadr-i-Jahan* and two *dabirs*, who alone were allowed to sit in front of the Sultan. The *durbār* was attended by *Hājibs*, *maliks*, *amirs* and other officers of note. The palace in which the *durbār* was held had seven gates one after another. Nobody was allowed to enter the *durbār* with arms of any kind and a careful search of the persons of the intending visitors was held at the gates.¹²⁷ At the first gate were posted a number of sentinels who blew a bugle as soon as a *Khan*, *Malik* or *amir* of distinction approached the palace. The bugle was sounded to inform the king of the visitor's arrival. Every one who wished to enter the palace had to walk on foot after passing the third gate and the sound of the bugle was continued until he had reached the seventh gate. The same thing was done in the

¹²⁶ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

Ibn Batūtah says that the *Durbār-i-‘ām* was generally held after the prayer of ‘asar (evening), but sometimes it was held at *chasht* time . . . the middle hour between the sunrise and the meridian.

¹²⁷ The author of the *Masālik* corroborates this statement. He writes that he was informed by Khwajah Ahmad bin Khawajah Omar bin Musāfir that nobody was allowed to go armed in the *Durbār*. Not even a knife was permitted. It was the king's Mir-Munshi who was allowed to carry arms on his person. The Sultan was carefully guarded.

case of those who were privileged to ride up to the sixth gate. When all the dignitaries were assembled, a general permission was given to the members of the public to make petitions to the king if they chose to do so. The people presented their petitions to the Hājibs who handed them over to their chief, who in turn submitted them to the Sultan for orders. The Qazis, Wazirs and Dabirs who sat in a secluded part of the room, where the Sultan's eye could not reach them, signed the *farmans* and recorded all information of a confidential nature. When the *Durbār* was over, and the king had left, the chief Hājib took the petitions to the Dabirs and then the final orders were issued.¹²⁸

The king sat on a raised dais in the Hall of Audience. When he had taken his seat the Hājibs and Naqībs uttered the word Bismillah (بِسْمِ اللَّهِ). In front of the king stood the Wazir and behind him stood in order his secretaries, the chief *Hājibs*, the deputy chief *Hājibs*, the *Khās-Hājib*, the deputy *Khas-Hājib*, the *Vakīl-al-Dar* and his deputy, the *Sharaf-al-Hujjāb*, the *Sayyid-al-Hujjāb* and the *naqībs* who were a hundred in number. Behind the king stood Malik Qabūlah described by the Moor as a wealthy and influential official whose duty was to ward off the flies from the royal person.¹²⁹ To the right and left of the Sultan were posted two hundred young men well-equipped with arms, swords, shields and bows in their hands to guard the person of their sovereign. Besides these, there were in the Audience Hall :—

1. The chief Qazi.
2. The chief Khatīb.
3. Other Qazis.
4. The famous lawyers.
5. Sayyids.
6. Shaikhs.
7. Brothers and son-in-law of the Sultan.
8. The big amirs.
9. Foreigners.
10. Envoys.
11. Officers of the army.

When the officers and leading men had assembled, sixty horses with saddles and bridles of white and black colour all decked with

¹²⁸ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

¹²⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 231.

gold were brought, half of whom were made to stand to the right and the other half to the left in such a manner that the king may be able to see them. Then fifty well-trained elephants covered with embroidered silk, with their tusks encased in iron, were presented. When the *Hājib* repeated the word *Bismillah*, they bowed their heads before the Sultan. Behind all these stood the royal slaves in a compact body equipped with swords and shields.

The *Durbār* had an ecclesiastical atmosphere about it. Probably even the liberal-minded *Muhammād* could not wholly set aside the time-honoured observances of the orthodox school, for when a Hindu appeared before the Sultan to make obeisance, the *Hājibs* and *naqībs* uttered the phrase *Hadāk allah* (may God bring you to the right path) instead of *Bismillah* obviously to emphasise the distinction between a believer and an unbeliever.

Presents were offered to the Sultan in the *Durbār*. The visitor, who offered presents, bowed thrice before approaching the royal throne and then bowed again, when he reached the place occupied by the *Hājibs*. If he was a man of position, he was allowed to stand in a line with the *Mir Hājib*, otherwise behind him. The Sultan talked to him with great gentleness, embraced him affectionately and to gratify him he sent for some of the things presented, if he deemed him worthy of such honour. Sometimes he carefully examined the articles presented and admired them. To signify royal pleasure, a robe of honour was presented to the visitor and an allowance called *sarshoi* was granted to him in accordance with his rank and status. When an officer of the state made a present, or the governor of a province brought his tribute, he offered it in the shape of gold vessels or bricks which were called *Khasht*. The slaves and servants of the Sultan took these things in their hands one by one and stood before him. Elephants and horses were presented to the Sultan decked with all their trappings and equipage, and these were followed by mules and camels, all laden with abundant gold and precious goods. Most of these presents were given away by the generous Sultan to his guests and on one occasion he gave a large portion of the presents of *Khwajah Jahan* to *Haji Gāon*, cousin of *Abu Sa'id* of Persia, who happened to be present at the time.¹³⁰

¹³⁰ *Ibn Batūtah*, III, p. 227.

Muhammad Tughluq had a large number of slaves in his household, each of whom received a monthly allowance of two *mans* of wheat and rice and a daily allowance of 3 seers of meat with all the other necessary articles of common use. In addition to his provisions he was given by the state a stipend of ten *tanqahs* per mensem and four suits of clothes every year. There was a corps of slaves and the author of the *Masālik* writes that when the king marched in state, he was accompanied by two hundred thousand slaves which seems to be an exaggerated number in view of the fact that when the number of slaves rose to the high figure of one lakh eighteen thousand in the time of Firuz Tughluq, it was looked upon as something abnormal, and after the Sultan's death as one of the causes of the disintegration of the empire. The conquests of the Sultan brought a large number of prisoners who were all offered for sale and did not cost more than eight *tanqahs*. Women were also captured in War and were distributed among the officers of the state. There was an abundance of slave-girls.¹³¹ Slaves were employed as domestic-servants and also as spies who were sent among the officers and reported to the Sultan what happened in their homes. The lot of slaves under Muhammad Tughluq was not unhappy. The practice of *manumission* was prevalent, and on an appointed day during the 'Id festival the Sultan granted freedom to his slaves. Female slaves were also set free and married. Some of the slaves showed great proficiency in music and other social accomplishments and rose to high positions in the state. Malik Maqbūl and Taghi were raised to high dignity notwithstanding their low origin. But ordinary slaves were treated like articles of merchandise, and were included in royal gifts and rewards. These facts enable us to understand the disproportionate growth of the slave department and the undue predominance acquired by the slave fief-holders.

The royal kitchen was an elaborate establishment and the Sultan's dinners were attended by distinguished men of all classes. The author of the *Masālik* was informed by Shaik Abu Bakr bin Khallāl Bazzi that 2,500 cows and 2,000 sheep besides fat horses and birds of all kinds were daily slaughtered in the royal kitchen. Learning, rank and wealth were all represented at his table, and the

The Royal
Dinners.

¹³¹ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 388.

guests were sumptuously entertained. Both Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik* speak of two kinds of dinners—the private and public. At his private meals were present his cousin Malik Firuz and distinguished amirs like ‘Imad-al-Mulk Sartez, the *amir majlis* and those foreigners towards whom the Sultan was especially well-disposed. To these were added 2,000 learned lawyers with whom the Sultan discussed points of theology and jurisprudence. The royal dinners had their peculiar etiquette. When the Sultan wished to show special favour to any person present, he himself offered him a cake which he gratefully accepted and saluted the royal host with his right hand.

The public dinner which, according to the *Masālik*, was attended by 20,000 persons, was a more complicated affair. The invitees assembled in the Hall of Audience where food was brought by the royal servants. The latter were preceded by the *naqīb-al-ṇuqbah* with a gold staff in his hand and he was followed by his deputy and other *naqībs* who shouted *Bismillah* as they entered the Hall of Audience. As soon as the voice of the *naqībs* was heard, all rose from their places except the Sultan. When the food was placed upon the floor, the *naqībs* stood in rows and their chief began to pronounce eulogies upon the Sultan. Then he kissed the ground and so did the other *naqībs* as well as the guests present. Nobody was allowed to move or speak until the chief *naqīb* had finished his eulogy of the Sultan. The names of the guests were recorded by clerks (*mutsaddis*) and the list was taken by a scion of the royal family to the Sultan who appointed one of the nobles present to take charge of the dinner. The guests were seated in the prescribed manner. In the centre sat the *Qazis*, *Khatibs*, *Shaiḫhs*, *Sayyids* and other learned men and then the king's relatives and the principal nobles. Every guest occupied his allotted seat to avoid confusion. The keepers of drinks (*Sharab-dārs*) entered first with cups of gold, silver and copper full of syrup. When the drinks had been disposed of, the *Hājibs* cried out *Bismillah* and the whole party fell to the viands, served in the plates before them. When the dinner was over, betel leaves and nuts were offered, and every one present got a handful of nuts and fifteen betel leaves tied together by a thread of red silk. This was followed by the usual ejaculation of the *Hājib* when all stood up. The *amir* in charge of the dinner kissed the ground and the guests did likewise.

The state worked through these institutions to maintain itself in the midst of hostile peoples. The Sultan himself supervised the

A résumé.

activity of the various departments and his liberal education and practical experience fitted him eminently for the task. The machinery of the administration improved considerably in his hands and the crude and half-formed polity of 'Ala-al-Din reached a definite stage of development under him. The Mughal raids were over, and the peace and order, made possible by the cessation of these nomadic hordes, helped the evolution of the institutions of government. The fame of the court of Muhammad reached distant lands, and foreigners from Asiatic countries came to India to witness the splendour of the ruler of Hind. Most of them entered his service, but instead of serving him with fidelity and devotion abused the confidence he reposed in them, and stirred up strife and insurrection. The native nobility, paralysed by the exclusive policy of the Sultan, lost its former virility and vigour. Parties began to form; and the mediocre nobles, deprived of the honours which they considered as their due, banded themselves together to oppose the Sultan and checkmate his designs. The monarchy which needed for its strength the united devotion of all the chiefs and officers thus weakened the foundation of its own power and created difficulties against which it contended in vain for a little less than two decades.

But a careful examination of the working of the administration reveals to us the fact that the Muslim state had acquired a settled form and that Muslim armies were no longer "fanaticism on the march," as they had been under the previous rulers of Dihli. Military rigour was lessened, and the orderly conditions of life had facilitated the growth of progressive ideals of political duty. The Hindus were better treated, and the awakened sense of responsibility in a section of the governing class had begun to suggest, however dimly it may be, the need for toleration and a better social understanding. The problems of a growing empire forced upon its ruler a policy of live and let live, and that is why Muhammad Tughluq abstained from the systematic persecution of the Hindus, whom he not only treated well but admitted some of them in his service. Restrictions were imposed on Sati, an unprecedented step, which speaks volumes for his enlightenment and liberal spirit. The wealth and riches of the empire were great; but the capital alone was the centre of life and culture. To the court flocked the nobles

and dignitaries of the empire, vying with one another in displaying their magnificence, wits and literary men like Badr-i-Chāch and Amir Hasan Dihlvi, singing the praises of their royal benefactor, and opulent merchants from the far-off countries of Asia, bringing their valuable presents to the Sultan. But in the interior of the country, there was little splendour, and Ibn Batūtah mentions desolate villages and waste lands stretching for miles without a human habitation. The hardships of the rural folk were aggravated by the severe famine that raged in the country and though the administration devised benevolent measures to afford relief, the people suffered and died in large numbers. There was no complete order in the empire, and disturbances and riots were frequent, and sometimes they occurred not far from the capital. To facilitate communication between the various provinces there was a well-regulated post, but outside the capital the police arrangements were not satisfactory, and travellers were exposed to great risk for the highways were not safe. Ibn Batūtah relates the story of a severe fight between the Hindus and the Muslims of Jalali, a village near Kol, not far from modern Aligarh in which the traveller himself took part.¹³² The Hindus with a force of one thousand horse and 3,000 foot attacked the Muslims, and in the mêlée that ensued, Ibn Batūtah's party lost 33 horse and 50 foot. The Sultan was informed of this outbreak of lawlessness and the death of Kafur, the keeper of drinks, but no reinforcement seems to have been sent. The Hindus renewed their attacks and inflicted heavy losses upon the Musalman governor of Jalali. Ibn Batūtah himself was captured by the rebels and was able to effect his deliverance after much difficulty. He speaks of another disturbance at 'Alāpūr near Gwalior, where the Hindus hoisted the flag of revolt and slew the local governor Badr Habshi or Abyssinian who was a valiant soldier but an oppressive ruler.¹³³ The local governors often did as they

¹³² Ibn Batūtah, IV, pp. 8-9.

Jalali is a village 7 miles from Kol in the Aligarh district in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. Ibn Batūtah has given a detailed account of this fight between the Hindus and Muhammadans of Kol.

¹³³ Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 31.

Alāpūr is Jaurā 'Alāpūr. It is situated to the W. N. W. of Gwalior, where Sir Robert Napier gained a victory over the Gwalior insurgents in 1858. Cathay and the Way Thither, II, p. 414.

The town is mentioned by Ibn Batūtah. From Ibn Batūtah's account it is clear that the town is 'Alāpūr in the Gwalior territory now. He writes: A day's

pleased and freely oppressed the people under their charge as long as they successfully ingratiated themselves with the court. Frequently he was furnished with a *carte blanche* by the central power, as is illustrated by the dealings of 'Imad-al-Mulk Sartej, the governor of Multan with the grandson of Rukn-al-Din.¹³⁴ It is true, the Sultan severely punished the contumacious conduct of governors and subjects alike; but where his eyes could not reach, matters were usually managed to suit the convenience of the local despot. It is unnecessary to refer to the brutalities of the legal system, for in the middle ages the laws were cruel and laid down drastic penalties for the most trivial offences. The idea of punishment as a means of reforming the wrongdoer has been a slow conquest of civilised jurisprudence, and in the middle ages men attached no importance to the value of human life and freely practised mutilation and torture. Imprisonment was seldom resorted to. Possibly it was considered a waste of money to feed criminals at the expense of the state. Muhammad was sternly just, but he was terribly cruel in his punishments, and as long as he lived, he enforced his commands with the utmost severity. But in spite of his vigilance corruption existed in the administration. The officers were venal and, perhaps, bureaucratic opinion did not concern itself with fostering public probity, for Ibn Batūtah himself a judicial officer, personally known to the Sultan, was asked to pay a bribe by a fellow officer who was afterwards severely punished when the Sultan came to know of his dishonest intentions.¹³⁵ The Sultan constituted himself into the Supreme Court of Appeal, and was ever ready to give prompt redress to the aggrieved persons, and provided every facility to the suitors, who wished to lay their cases before him. No class was sacrosanct in his eyes, and the privileged orders received no indulgence from him. Notwithstanding the shortcomings that have been pointed out before, the ceaseless activity of the administration was in a large measure due to the energy and intrepidity of the Sultan. He undertook works of public utility; hospitals, schools and monasteries were established for the relief of the poor. The monasteries had a regular staff of officers to carry on their manage-

journey from this place is the territory of a Hindu prince, Kasham by name, whose capital was Jambil (or Jambal in another text). This prince laid siege to Gwalior, but he was killed after the siege. Ibn Batūtah, IV, p. 29.

¹³⁴ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 305-6.

¹³⁵ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 413-14.

ment under state supervision. The founder of a private monastery was allowed to appoint his heir *Mutwalli* or manager. If there were no heirs the duties of a *mutwalli* were entrusted to the Qazi. An industrial department was maintained by the state, and the author of the *Masālik* writes that the Sultan had a manufactory in which 4,000 silk weavers were employed, who manufactured cloth for all kinds of dresses for the amirs and officers of the court. Besides these there were 4,000 manufacturers of golden tissues who prepared gold brocades for the use of the royal ladies and the wives of the nobles.¹³⁶ Education was not neglected and though the state did nothing beyond making grants of land to learned men there were a thousand schools in Dihli, only one of which belonged to the Shafis and all the rest to the Hanafis.¹³⁷ The Sultan took great interest in medicine and *Dāru-s-Shafās* (hospitals) were established at Dihli, where medicines were freely distributed to the poor. The piratical gangs of Gogo¹³⁸ were put down effectively, and commerce was secured by establishing a firm hold on the coast of Kathiawar. The commercial cities of Broach and Cambay carried a busy trade and received full protection from the state. A separate officer called the *Malik-al-tajjār* was appointed to look after these harbours. The Hindus were not wantonly persecuted and in certain cases they were admitted to offices in the state.

¹³⁶ The Paris MS. of the *Masālik* has 4,000 while Elliot (III. p. 578) has only 400.

Quatrémère follows the text, XIII. p. 183.

¹³⁷ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

¹³⁸ Gogo is situated in north lat. 21° 39' east 72° 15'.

Bombay Gazetteer, IV. p. 339.

Gogha first appears as the port of Gundigad a place of importance in the Vallabhi kingdom. It was captured by Muhammad Tughluq in 1347. The chief of Gogha was killed and his possessions were entrusted to his son Dunkarji. *Rāsmālā*, 289.

CHAPTER VIII

PERSONALITY OF MUHAMMAD TUGHLUQ

The Sultan was a man of handsome appearance and well-built physique. He was a dexterous polo-player, an excellent shot and thoroughly skilled in horsemanship.¹ He was a

The Sultan's accomplishments.

keen sportsman, and though not so fond of hunting expeditions as Firuz, he took a great interest in all kinds of manly exercises. Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik* give eloquent descriptions of his marches when he went out for hunting. He was as famous for his gallantry in the field as for those accomplishments which render a man the ornament of private society. His generosity knew no bounds. All writers including Barani are lost in astonishment at his amazing hospitality and liberal gifts. To the foreigners he was especially generous, and Barani writes that every year hundreds of amirs of *Tuman* (ten thousand) and *Hazārah* (one thousand) and ladies of rank came to Dihli and were loaded with gifts. The same chronicler observes that the recipients were astonished at the Sultan's gifts and adds in a vein of exaggeration that what Hātim and others gave in a year he gave away at one time.² Learned and pious men came from Khorasan, Iraq, Transoxiana, Khwarizm, Seistan, Hareva, Egypt and Damascus and received rich rewards. According to Barani, the Sultan on his return from Saragdwāri in 741 A.H. (1340 A.D.) found time to do nothing else except entertaining the foreign visitors who were feasted on a lavish scale at the royal expense.³ It would be wearisome to enumerate all the instances of lavish generosity that have been recorded by contemporary writers. Barani mentions the Sultan's generosity as if it were a fault or a vice, because his class was opposed to him. The royal marches from and to the capital were accompanied by showers of gold and silver coins among the populace, and yet we come across no evidence of financial bankruptcy. On the contrary, we gather from the *Fatūhāt*, the *Sīrat* and 'Afif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* that soon after his accession to the throne

¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 464.

² *Ibid.*, p. 411.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 499.

Firuz abolished a number of taxes confining himself rigorously to those prescribed in the Law.

Though a man of charitable disposition, he discouraged beggary and granted allowances to the needy and the indigent. According to the author of the *Masālik* forty thousand beggars were fed every day at the public kitchens, and every one of them was given one *dirham* and 5 *ritals* of bread of wheat flour or rice. He endowed large monasteries (*Khānqāhs*) for the benefit of the poor where food was distributed under the supervision of state officials.⁴ The *mutwallis* were properly controlled and cases of defalcation were severely punished. The public and private dinners of the Sultan have already been mentioned. Though magnificent on public occasions, he was personally a man of simple and abstemious habits. He abstained from drink, shunned the society of men given to unlawful acts and forbade the use of intoxicating liquor among his nobles and subjects.⁵ A breach of this rule was followed by heavy penalties and the author of the *Masālik* records the instance of a ~~Khan of Dihli~~ who was punished with confiscation of property when he persisted in this bad habit after he had received a warning from the Sultan. Barani who cannot be accused of partiality towards the Sultan highly praises his private character and dwells enthusiastically on his personal purity. In an age of drunkenness and licentiousness he was singularly free from unnatural lust and had no fondness for women.⁶ Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik* make no mention of any vice in the Sultan, although they write that he witnessed the performances of musicians and dancing girls which were a necessary concomitant of all state ceremonies in those days. Neither in his speech nor in his acts he was profane or vulgar and in private as well as in public he always observed the highest decorum. Though not a Puritan like Aurangzeb nor an ascetic like Nāsir-al-Din Mahmud, the Sultan was highly punctilious in matters of conduct. Decency was enforced in the palace, and when the Sultan went into the seraglio he used to send his eunuchs in advance so that women might seclude themselves behind the screens.⁷ So strict was he in these matters that during the revolt of

⁴ Barani, pp. 432—34.

⁵ *Masālik*, Paris MS.

⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 460.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 506.

'Ain-al-Mulk Multani he issued an order that no woman should be permitted to stay in the camp, and himself set an example by removing the ladies of the royal *haram* to the fort of Kampil with a view to preserve the morale of the army.⁸

The Sultan's humility was unsurpassed. Though guilty of parricide he wished to atone for the crime, for immediately after his accession to the throne he caused his father's name to be inscribed on the coins.⁹ This was probably the expression of a deep feeling of remorse. He tendered sincere respect and obedience to his mother *Makhdūm-i-Jahan*, the dowager queen, who enjoyed her regal state throughout her life. Barani and Ibn Batūtah both are unanimous in praising the exalted lady and the Sultan's devotion to her. So respectful was he that he allowed her to exercise influence in matters of state and it appears that she enjoyed precedence over the queens of the Sultan, for no mention is made of any one of them by contemporary writers. She gave magnificent receptions to visitors to the capital and sanctioned large and valuable gifts. On one occasion she went on a tour with the Sultan, but he returned earlier and when she came back, he received her with great ceremony and alighted from his horse and kissed her feet. She was allowed to receive presents like the Sultan and to keep a regular staff of scribes and clerks to register her gifts and presents. Towards his brothers the Sultan behaved with great generosity and Mubarak Khan was appointed to one of the highest posts in the administration. His old tutor *Qutluḡ Khan* was always treated with consideration and when he came to pay a visit to the Sultan, he rose from his seat to signify his regard for him. Even Barani feels constrained to admire these traits of the Sultan and remarks that there were two basic principles of his character—worship of God and respect for elders.¹⁰ He was fond of the society of *faqirs* and learned men and extended his patronage to them.

Of all the Sultans who had hitherto occupied the throne of Dihli he was the most learned and accomplished. Nature

⁸ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 346.

⁹ Nelson Wright, Catalogue of coins, II, p. 50. Coin No. 300 dated 726 A.H. It bears on it only the name of Sultan Tughluq Shah.

There is another in Thomas' collection (Chronicles, p. 212, No. 178) which is struck in the name of the late Sultan.

Brown, The Coins of India, p. 73.

¹⁰ Barani, Calcutta, Text, p. 506.

Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 336.

had endowed him with a marvellous memory, a keen and penetrating intellect and an enormous capacity for assimilating knowledge of different kinds. The versatility of his genius surprised those who came in contact with him. A lover of the fine arts, a cultured scholar and an accomplished poet, he was equally at home in logic, astronomy, philosophy, mathematics and the physical sciences. He was thoroughly acquainted with literary works like the *Sikandar-namah*, *Bu-Musalim-namah* and the *Tarikh-i-Mahmudi* and in his epistles he frequently quoted from them with great facility and appositeness. Among later writers. Firishta, who consulted copiously, adds the *Shahnamah* and the stories of Amir Hamzah.¹¹ No one could excel the Sultan in composition ; he had at his ready command a good deal of Persian poetry of which he made a large use in his writings and speeches. He was an adept in the use of similes and metaphors, and his literary discourses, saturated with the influence of Persian classics, extorted admiration from the professed litterateurs of the age. Even the most practised rhetoricians found it difficult to rival the richness of imagination, the elegance of taste and the ready command over the instrument of language, which he displayed in his literary productions. He was a charming conversationalist and was gifted with extraordinary powers of speech to which were added uncommon powers of reasoning. He was well-versed in Aristotelian logic and philosophy so that divines and logicians feared to argue with him. He could hold his own in debate against the most eminent scientists, poets and wits. Barani who is no apologist of the Sultan describes him as eloquent, sweet-tongued, an expert calligraphist whose abilities would have taken by surprise such men as Aristotle, 'Āsaf, Ahmad Hasan and Nizam-al-mulk Tūsi and he is corroborated by Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik*. The author of the *Masālik* writes : " The Sultan is highly learned. He knows the Holy Book by heart and also the Hedayah. He has mastered philosophy and logic and is a fine calligraphist. Himself no mean poet, he appreciates the excellences of poetry and holds converse with Persian poets and criticises their productions." His mastery over philosophical subjects was so great that he successfully worsted in argument the 'Ulama. Every night the Sadr-i-Jahan used to invite learned discussions wherein the Sultan joined without any formality or reserve. Hājji-ad-Dabīr's statement that he carried on

¹¹ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 133.

correspondence with Shaikh Sādi is incorrect for the latter died in 690 A.H., (1291 A.D.). The Sultan's fondness for discussion led him to cross swords with S'ād, the logician, 'Ubaid,¹² the poet, Maulana 'Alim-al-Din, the philosopher and Nizām-al-Din Intishār and others whom the orthodox historian describes as 'atheists and apostates' and to whose sinister influence he attributes the Sultan's violations of the canon law and his unjust treatment of the true believers.¹³ All rational philosophy was anathema to the orthodox, and the advocacy of reason and its application to the dogmas of theology was looked upon as a gross outrage upon scriptural sanctity. A knowledge of medicine was looked upon as a valued accomplishment in the east in the middle ages and the Sultan who had acquired considerable proficiency in these subjects held discussions with physicians, diagnosed diseases and prescribed suitable remedies for them. Men who were noted for their learning and piety attended his court and he freely extended his patronage to them.¹⁴

But notwithstanding these versatile gifts and accomplishments the contemporary chronicler tells us that the Sultan was a cruel-tyrant who wantonly shed the blood of innocent Musalmans, so much so indeed, that a stream of blood was always seen flowing before the

The charge of
Wanton cruelty.

¹² 'Ubaid was dead at this time. He was slain by Gh'iyas-al-Din Tughluq for spreading the rumour of his death in Telingana. Barani has probably forgotten that, Mr. Gardner Brown charges Barani with deliberate falsehood on the ground of this statement, but I think it is hardly fair to that mediaeval chronicler to be so severe in our judgment.

J. U. P. Historical Society, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 9.

¹³ Hājji-ad-Dabīr writes that a man was posted at the royal gate who persuaded people to follow the principles of rationalistic philosophy.

¹⁴ 'Abd-al-Haq Dihlwi in a treatise containing the memoirs of certain famous philosophers and poets of Dihli written in the time of emperor Jahangir says that one of the most learned men of the age was Maulana Muaiyyan-al-Din 'Umrani, the author of commentaries on the *Kanz*, *Minān*, *Husami*, *Talkhīs* and *Miftah*. Sultan Muhammad sent him to Shiraz with an invitation for Qazi 'Azd-al-Millat-wal-Din Ālichī with the request that the latter would write a book dedicated to the Sultan. The Qazi was persuaded, but when the ruler of the place heard of this (Cont. on p. 427) he offered him his whole kingdom. Under this pressure the Qazi gave up all idea of paying a visit to Hindustan. Hājji-ad-Dabīr probably refers to this invitation but he confounds Ālichī with Shaikh Sādi.

Elliot, VI, p. 486.

threshold of his palace.¹⁵ He is described as a man of imagination, who asked his subjects to carry his fantastic schemes into effect, and when they failed to do so, he punished them without ruth. Failure to carry out the royal behests was interpreted into 'disobedience, hostility and wickedness' and thousands of men were involved in trouble on this account.¹⁶ In the course of his narrative, while lauding the Sultan's generosity and character and intellect in hyperbolic terms, Barani mentions his expedition to Baran, his own native district, where, he says, men were hunted like wild beasts.¹⁷ He speaks of similar punishments near Kanauj on a subsequent occasion when the whole country from Kanauj to Dalamau was laid waste, and every person who was captured was killed.¹⁸ The tone of his narrative leads to the inference that the Sultan was a habitual slayer of men, utterly devoid of compassion, and a seeker after the impossible. Among Barani's immediate successors there are two who make mention of the cruelties of Sultan Muhammad. Firuz in his *Fatuhāt* takes credit for giving full compensation to those who had been executed in the reign of his late master and patron Sultan Muhammad and those who had been deprived of a limb, nose, eye, hand, or foot. He went so far as to obtain certificates of satisfaction, duly attested by witnesses, which were put into a chest and placed at the head of the tomb of the Sultan in the hope that God would show clemency to him.¹⁹ The author of the *Sirat* who wrote during Firuz's reign speaks of unjust confiscations of land in the last regime and endorses Firuz's statement regarding the mutilation of victims and the acquisition of certificates of conciliation obtained from their heirs and survivors.²⁰ The same authority writes that the executioners complained to the Sultan that their occupation was gone and adds that in former times men were strangled and burnt and thousands of Muslims were slain simply for

¹⁵ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 466. India Office MS. f. 295. This is what he writes:—

ممنوعه نهي گشت مے کہ خون چندیں ساما نان نمیرختند و چوئي خون پيش
- the Sultan and th

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 466.

India Office MS. f. 295.

3-4.

¹⁷ Calcutta, Text, pp. 479-80.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 480.

¹⁹ *Fatuhāt*, Elliot III, pp. 385-86.

²⁰ *Sirat*, Bankipore MS.

the love of cruelty. But this statement of the *Fatūhat* and the *Sīrat* is not corroborated by Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, the official historian of Firuz, who must have heard much about Muhammad's reign from eyewitnesses. He describes Sultan Muhammad as a great king, 'adept in everything, a wise man of sound understanding who displayed in the kingdom of Dihli great wisdom and excellence to the world.'²¹ Firuz was a priest-ridden monarch and the author of the *Sīrat*, a member of the clerical order, who approved of every orthodox act of his patron, rejoiced at the special favour shown to the heirs of the malcontents of his own class, whom Sultan Muhammad had tried to suppress during his reign. Assuming for the sake of argument that compensation was granted to the injured persons or their survivors, how was it possible to meet the claims of the heirs of those who had perished in the wholesale massacres which, according to Barani, occurred at Baran and in the neighbourhood of Kanauj and to obtain letters of satisfaction from them? The inevitable inference is that it was the members of the clerical order who were conciliated by the state in this manner. The influence of the 'Ulama who asserted themselves immediately after the death of the masterful Muhammad is clearly manifest in the attempts made by Firuz to appease them by gifts and allowances and to restore them to their former position in the state.

Following Barani's example, later Muhammadan writers have painted Muhammad's character in a most lurid light. It is perfectly obvious that excepting the author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* none of our later historians seems to have utilised much fresh material. The author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* does not give a full list of the books he consulted in preparing his history, but it is evident that he must have utilised certain works other than Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* for much of the information he supplies is not to be found in Barani's pages. Those who came after him largely drew upon Barani and reproduced his charges against the Sultan. He describes the Sultan as 'bloody' (خونی) and being of the same the author of Barani he does not care to examine the truth of the charge Sultan Muhammad sent implied.²² Abul Fazl, though he dwells upon the wal-Din Alich with the Sultan. The Qazi justice, accepts the opprobrious title 'bloody' which this (Cont. on p. 427) he on his day the Sultan had a reputation for cruelty.²³ Qazi gave up all idea of pa, refers to this invitation but he Calcutta Text., p. 42.

Nizam-al-Din Ahmad's list given in his preface contains among his authorities the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Zia Barani, the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi* and the *Tarikh-i-Fatuh-i-Salatīn*, but it appears from his narrative that he principally relied upon Barani for his account of Muhammad's reign.²⁴ Nizam-al-Din bestows lavish praise upon the Sultan for his intellectual attainments and munificence and writes: 'He was so severe in his punishments and in *unjustly shedding blood* and in troubling and tormenting the creatures of God that he appeared to be bent upon emptying the world of all human beings.'²⁵ Badāoni closely following the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* also speaks of the blood-thirstiness of the Sultan and his system of government which made Sayyids, 'Ulama, Shaikhs, ragamuffins and scoundrels, artisans, peasants and soldiers all alike in his eyes. Moreover there was constantly in front of his royal pavilion and his civil court a mound of dead bodies and a heap of corpses, while the sweepers and executioners were wearied out with their work of dragging and putting to death crowds of men.²⁶

— Having a stronger clerical bias than others he tries to aggravate the effect produced by Barani's tirade against the Sultan. Firishta who has utilised these authorities, after passing a eulogy upon the Sultan for his varied accomplishments, which even his avowed enemies dared not conceal, records an unfavourable verdict in these words:—

'He acted freely in the matter of punishment and the shedding of blood of the servants of God. It seemed as if he was desirous of emptying the world of God's creatures. Not a week passed when he did not punish the true believers, saints, Sayyids, Sufis, Qalandars, writers and soldiers and when he did not shed the blood of human beings.'²⁷

Like his predecessor Barani, he also reiterates the story of the Sultan's excursion to Baran where he went 'not to hunt beasts, but men and without any reason began to massacre the inhabitants.' Thousands of human heads were brought and hung over the city walls. On another occasion the whole tract of land from Kanauj to Dalamau was laid waste. Some writers have highly embellished the picture drawn by Barani of the Sultan's atrocities. The author of the *Zubd-ut-tawarikh* speaks of man-hunts of the Sultan and the

²⁴ Tabqat-i-Akbari, Biblioth. Ind. Introduction, pp. 3-4.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

²⁶ Ranking, Al-Badāoni, I, pp. 316-17.

²⁷ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 133.

display of human heads from the battlements of the fort of Baran and writes: 'In this way he utterly depopulated whole tracts of his kingdom and inflicted such vigorous punishment that the whole world stood aghast. In short the cruelties of this tyrant whom some men call the just pass all belief.'²⁸ This is a close paraphrase of Barani's description of the Sultan's character, which has been adopted by all later writers. None of these writers seems to have had a knowledge of independent contemporary writers like Ibn Batūtah and the author of the *Masālik*, for they are not even incidentally mentioned by them. Even Hājji-ad-Dabir who sometimes throws a new light upon vexed questions reproduces Barani's account of the Sultan's cruelties. We have to decide whether the Sultan was really a monster of cruelty, a blood-thirsty tyrant whose reckless disregard of human life bordered on insanity. Modern writers have all re-echoed the views of Barani and Firishta and in this jumble of truths and half-truths it is difficult to paint the Sultan as he really was without extenuating or setting down aught in malice.

But in explaining the charge of habitual and wanton cruelty we must critically examine the accounts furnished by contemporary writers. These are besides Barani, Ibn Batūtah, Shihab-al-Din, Badr-i-Chāch and 'Ain-al-mulk Multani. We may leave out the last two, for Badr-i-Chāch was a court poet who would not point out the faults of his patron and 'Ain-al-mulk Multani owed a debt of gratitude to the Sultan who had pardoned him when he rebelled against his authority. But Ibn Batūtah and Shihab-al-Din are valuable authorities who have no reason to conceal the truth. The *Masālik* contains information gathered from the most reliable persons. It says nothing about the fiendish barbarities of Muhammad. But it may be argued that the author of the *Masālik* derived his information from foreigners who were liberally treated by the Sultan, although it seems improbable that none of the numerous visitors among whom were included nobles as well as Shaikhs and the 'Ulama should have spoken of the atrocities which the Sultan, according to Barani, practised upon the 'innocent believers.' He does not mention even a wanton slaughter of the Hindus, a thing which would have greatly pleased a fourteenth century Muslim divine. 'Ala-al-Din Khilji's persecution of the Hindus was extolled as an act of great religious merit by the Egyptian master of the

²⁸ Zabd-ut-tawarikh, Elliot, VI, pp. 184-85.

Hadis, Shams-al-Din Turk when he came to India, but among the numerous suppliants who came to Muhammad's court none makes even a casual mention of his alleged extermination of the human species. The informants of Shihab-al-Din sometimes gave him minute details about the Sultan's character, policy and administration, but strangely enough they omitted all mention of the Sultan's barbarities. Even if we ignore the testimony of the *Masālik*, we cannot set aside the observations of Ibn Batūtah who was in close contact with the Sultan for a number of years and about whose general veracity there can be no doubt. Here is an exact translation of Ibn Batūtah's passage relating to the Sultan's character.

"This king of all others is fond of granting gifts and shedding blood. At all times there is seen at his gate some poor person who is enriched or some living one condemned to death. The stories of his bounties, courage, the shedding of blood and the severe chastisement of criminals are well-known among the people. But in spite of this fact he is the most humble of men and one who is ~~most inclined towards doing what is right and just~~. He is very punctilious in matters of prayer and severely punishes those who fail to perform it in the prescribed manner. He is one of those who possess good luck in abundance. The most prominent of his qualities is generosity and we shall shortly relate some of the events of his reign, the like of which have never been heard about those who have preceded him."²⁹ Ibn Batūtah does not speak of the shedding of blood of innocent believers nor of the Sultan's desire to exterminate the human species. He adds to his portrait of the Sultan that he punished all offences great and small with equal severity without any distinction. No man was excused on the ground of birth, rank, learning or piety and every day hundreds of men were brought into the Hall of Audience to receive the punishments which their guilt merited. It will be borne in mind that the Sultan administered impartial and stern justice. He deprived the clericals of their long-enjoyed monopoly and constituted himself into the supreme court of appeal. All authorities are unanimous in praising his love of justice and his readiness to alter, revise or reverse the judgments of the *Muftis*.³⁰ He was no believer in the infallibility of the priestly order; he went a step further and invested his lay

²⁹ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 216-17.

³⁰ *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi*, MS.

officers with the function of administering justice.³¹ In view of these facts it is not difficult to understand Barani's indictment which is based on a few particular cases in which the men of his own order were concerned. His account is different from that of Ibn Batūtah who emphasises the severity of the Sultan's punishments, but does not say that the guilty and the innocent were indiscriminately punished. On the contrary, he gives credit to the Sultan for doing what was right and just. Barani cites no specific instances; he only indulges in vague generalisations, and his narrative creates the impression that the Sultan was a monster who loved cruelty for its own sake. Though a court historian writing his history for presentation to Firuz, he could never forgive Muhammad for his disregard of the 'Ulama and described each case of punishment as an instance of a most wanton cruelty. On the basis of the two expeditions to Baran and Kanauj which were intended for punitive purposes he constructs the theory of 'man-hunt,' implying a serious charge which requires much more definite evidence to justify it than he places before us. Happily Ibn Batūtah has left us a list of the culprits whom the Sultan punished and an examination of his detailed account will furnish us with a refutation of the commonly accepted view. In seven cases out of the ten mentioned by the Moor, the culprits are members of the class of 'Ulama who were either hostile to the Sultan or had embezzled public funds or taken part in disloyal proceedings. Shaikh Shihab-al-Din, Faqiah 'Afi-al-Din Kāshāni, the two Sindhi Maulvis, Shaikh Hūd, Shaikh Shams-al-Din bin Taj-al-ārfīn, Shaikh 'Ali Haidri, and the Khatīb-al-Khutbah (the chief preacher) of Dihli were all punished for charges of a serious nature ranging from wilful dereliction of duty to seditious conspiracy.³²

³¹ As has been mentioned before, the Sultan had appointed his brother Mubarak Khan to assist the Qazi in administering justice.

³² (a) Shaikh Shihab-al-Din was punished for calling the Sultan a tyrant, I. B. III, pp. 293—98.

(b) Faqiah 'Afi-al-Din also called the Sultan a tyrant. The Faqiah had expressed his disapproval of the Sultan's measures to promote agriculture, I. B. III, pp. 299-300.

(c) No definite charge was proved against the two Sindhi Maulvis. The Sultan asked them to accompany a certain amir who had been entrusted with the charge of a district. They were to communicate to the Sultan whatever the amir did. All of a sudden the Sultan told them that their intentions were dishonest. He proceeded to punish them without proof. I. B. III, pp. 300—302.

Some punishments were doubtless disproportionate to the offences committed and some were brutally severe as was the punishment inflicted on Shaikh Shihāb-al-Din for calling the Sultan a tyrant. It was the Shaikh's persistent defiance of royal authority in spite of the kindness which the Sultan had shown him that was also to some extent responsible for the severity with which he was treated. The charge of tyranny was a serious matter in an age governed by theocratic influences, for a Muslim ruler who oppresses his subjects, forfeits his title to the allegiance of the 'faithful.' The Shaikh was given a chance to retract his word, but when he proved incorrigible the Sultan handed him over to the Sadr-i-Jahan and gave him an opportunity of proving the charge of tyranny which he had brought against him. Ibn Batūtah is remarkably corroborated by the *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* in this respect. The accused who probably wished to figure as a martyr in the eyes of the orthodox obstinately refused to recant and was finally beheaded.³³ The Sultan had no aversion for the '*Ulama*'; on the contrary he loved the society of learned men, entertained them at his table and extended his patronage to them.

(d) Shaikh Hūd was in charge of a Khānqāh. He was accused of embezzlement of public funds. I. B. III, pp. 302—6.

(e) Shaikh Shams-al-Din was on one occasion summoned by the Sultan to appear before him but he refused to come. He was afterwards charged with praising a rebellious amir in the presence of several persons. I. B. III, pp. 307—9.

(f) Shaikh Haidri was a native of Kambhāyat. His offence was that he had given help and encouragement to Qazi Jalāl who had rebelled against the Sultan's authority. I. B. III, pp. 309—11.

(g) The *Khatib-al-Khutbah* was once placed in charge of a store of jewels by the Sultan during a journey. One night the thieves came and stole away some of the jewels. The Sultan ordered the preacher to be beaten so that he died. I. B. III, pp. 313-14.

These are the seven cases mentioned by Ibn Batūtah in which severe punishments were inflicted upon the offenders.

³³ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 297-98.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubarak Shahi* relates the story of the Shaikh's confinement and ultimate execution. The Shaikh called the Sultan a tyrant whereupon he went to the Sadr-i-Jahan and asked him to call upon the Shaikh to prove the charge of tyranny. The Shaikh repeated the charge and justified it on the ground that the Sultan handed over to the executioners the wives and children of the alpirits who were punished by him. The Sultan became very angry and ordered the arrest of the Shaikh.

This statement is not supported by any other contemporary writer. Barani and Ibn Batūtah do not say that he ordered the slaughter of women and children. What wonder if the Sultan flew into a rage at this wild imputation?

But he was strong-minded enough not to condone their offences which implied an encroachment upon his authority or interfered with the efficient administration of justice which he desired above everything else. Barani gives us no hint why the members of the sacerdotal order were punished so severely ; while there are instances in which political offenders were let off with extraordinary leniency. Barani and Ibn Batūtah both give detailed accounts of the rebellions of the reign from which it appears that even in case of serious offences against the state the malefactors escaped with a light penalty or secured total pardon. The Sultan's treatment of Nusrat Khan and 'Ain-al-Mulk, who were restored to favour in spite of their rebellions, was certainly more humane than that of many other mediæval rulers in similar circumstances. He pardoned even the clericals, but when they persisted in mischief, he laid his hands freely upon them. Often did he find that his confidence was betrayed by men whom he had raised to honour and eminence. Their perversity and disloyalty exasperated him so that he was at times obliged to have recourse to drastic measures in order to vindicate his own authority. In such circumstances when chronic disorder prevailed in the empire, he lost his balance of mind and behaved with extraordinary harshness towards those who failed to respond to his demands or to carry out his orders.

We have sufficient data to prove that Muhammad was no monster who took delight in shedding blood for its own sake and those who stigmatise him as a callous tyrant forget the age in which he lived and the circumstances in which he was placed. As often happens in the case of men of genius, he was a combination of opposite qualities, incredibly generous in his gifts and pitilessly severe in dealing with offenders. Later historians contented themselves by describing him as a 'mixture of opposites' for they believed that the traits which Muhammad's character possessed were incompatible. Barani was interested in exaggerating the cruelties of the Sultan for his party, and his native district had suffered much at his hands, but we cannot summarily dismiss Ibn Batūtah's statements regarding the terrible modes of punishment which are mentioned by him. The difference between Barani and Ibn Batūtah has been pointed out before, and a careful reading of the former's text makes it clear that his account is more of a theological lament than a just and unbiassed statement of the Sultan's policy. The truth seems to be that the Sultan was subject to great paroxysms of rage at times,

foes. Jahangir relates with gusto how he impaled alive seven hundred associates of Prince Khusrau before the gates of Lahore and caused two of his principal comrades to be inclosed in the skin of a cow or ass and had them paraded in the city. On another occasion he punished parricide by ordering the tongue of the culprit to be cut and by condemning him to be fed at the same mess as the dog-keepers and sweepers. Aurangzeb's unnatural treatment of his father and brothers is too well known to need mention. Yet we do not find even the faintest disapproval of such conduct in the works of orthodox writers. How strange seems to be the verdict of history on Muhammad Tughluq? The punishments related by Ibn Batūtah seem to be grossly exaggerated in some cases. It is stated that the two Sindhi Maulvis suffered a revolting torture because the Sultan suspected the honesty of their intentions. Ibn Batūtah says not a word regarding the manner in which the Sultan convinced himself of their guilt and adds that a confession was obtained by means of a most inhuman torture. He says they were made to lie on the ground and a red-hot sheet of iron was placed upon their chests which burnt their flesh and then urine and dust were applied to the wounds thus caused. After this the Maulvis confessed that their motives were dishonest. Shaikh Shihab-al-Din's punishment seems to be equally severe and irrational and it is difficult to understand how the Sultan who was so fond of justice should have sanctioned such barbarities.

As life advanced, the Sultan became more and more severe in his policy, but his punishments were not the result of caprice.

The Sultan's
punishments not
due to caprice.

The needs of the empire and the disloyalty of his officers compelled him to adopt such an attitude. Like all despots he thought punishment as a most efficacious remedy for putting down

revolt and disorder. It was not his intention to inflict wanton misery upon the people, for in 745 A.H., during the Deccan revolt, when the Sultan was at Sultanpur he observed to the historian Zia Barani: "Thou seest how many revolts spring up. I have no pleasure in them, although men will say that they have all been caused by my excessive severity. I will not cease to inflict punishments owing to these rebellions." He enquired of the historian under what circumstances punishments had been inflicted by kings in the past. Barani, who never forgives the Sultan for his punishments, himself opined with the opportunism of a courtier that 'a king cannot carry

on his government without punishments, for if he were not an avenger, God knows what evils would arise from the insurrections of the disaffected, and how many thousand crimes would be committed by his subjects.' He suggested seven cases for punishment as laid down in the law—(1) apostasy from true religion, (2) wilful murder of a believer, (3) adultery of a married man with another's wife, (4) proved conspiracy against the Crown, (5) leading a revolt or aiding or abetting rebels, (6) joining the enemies or rivals of the king, carrying news to them, supplying them with arms or aiding or abetting them in any way, and (7) disobedience which is likely to cause distempers in the state.³⁴ The Prophet, said the historian, had expressed himself regarding the first three and left the rest to the discretion of the civil authorities. Indirectly he hinted that the appointment of capable administrators conduces to the proper management of a large dominion, and good laws alone can make it unnecessary for a king to employ force against his subjects. But the Sultan emphasised the wickedness and turbulence of the times and expressed his determination to punish even the most trifling act of contumacy with death. The reason for severity is clearly expressed in what he added further: "I have no other Wazir as will make rules to obviate my shedding of blood. I punish the people because they have all at once become unfriendly and disloyal. I have given away so much money and yet see hostility and ingratitude on all sides. The temper of the people is well-known to me and I see that they are disaffected and inimical to me."³⁵ When Taghi's revolt broke out and the Sultan hurried towards Gujarat, fearfully annoyed with the *amirs Sadah*, to whom he had shown great favours in the past, Barani says, he felt inclined to suggest to him the abandonment of his harsh policy and the adoption of gentler measures, but fear prevented him from doing so. Thus, on several occasions the historian made a compromise with his conscience and kept his views to himself. Devagiri was lost and all over the empire a spirit of lawlessness prevailed. The rapid succession of these troubles disheartened the Sultan and calling the historian one day he described to him the condition of his kingdom in these pathetic words:

"My kingdom is diseased and no treatment cures it. The physician cures the headache and fever follows; he strives to allay

³⁴ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 510.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 511.

the fever and something else supervenes." Barani told the Sultan what other kings had done in similar circumstances and observed that 'of all political ills, the greatest and most dire was a general feeling of aversion and a want of confidence among all ranks of the people.' The Sultan stuck to his view and said that if he succeeded in establishing order in the country, he would entrust the kingdom to Firuz, Malik Kabir and Ahmad Ayaz and himself go to visit the K'ābāh at Mecca. He further added: "My remedy for rebels, insurgents, opponents and disaffected people is the sword. I employ punishment and use the sword so that a cure may be effected by suffering. The more the people resist, the more I inflict chastisement."³⁶ The charge of wanton cruelty or lust for blood falls to the ground in view of these statements. The Sultan wanted to punish rebels who stirred up strife in the country and not innocent men as is frequently supposed. Conciliation did not appeal to his mediaeval mind; half measures were anathema to him. With him the issue was between royalty and sedition and he never sat down calmly to analyse the causes of the latter. Opposition even though it were based on just grounds was intolerable to him. It was a masterful love of prestige and not perversity, a consciousness of superior might and not a natural thirst for blood, a lack of faith in human nature due to the misbehaviour of those whom he had favoured and not an inherent wish to destroy the human species that aggravated the crisis and rendered harmony impossible in the state.

Modern European writers who have closely followed Barani and Firishta have reiterated their views. It would be wearisome to cite passages from them which are based upon the diatribes of Barani, so faithfully reproduced in such histories as Nizam-al-Din's *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* and Badāoni's *Muntakhab-ut-tawārikh*. Sewell who followed Firishta and the Portuguese chronicler Nuniz picturesquely describes the Sultan as 'something superhuman, monstrous, a saint with the heart of a devil, or a fiend with the heart of a saint.'³⁷ Nuniz in one place speaks of him as the lord of the skins by which he means that his punishments were terrible.³⁸ Modern writers

³⁶ Barani, Calcutta Text, p. 522.

³⁷ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 15.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

have fallen into the mistake of applying to Muhammad's motives and policy the standards of our own day. They have failed to reconcile the Sultan's actions with his high education and uncommon intellectual powers. Hence they have framed against him the charge of insanity. But none of his contemporaries lets fall even a hint from which we might infer that he was partially or wholly insane. 'Afif, the author of the *Sirat*, and Sultan Firuz say nothing which can even remotely suggest that the Sultan suffered from mental derangement in the slightest degree. Nor is there any one among the later writers from Yahaya Sirhindi downwards who states that the Sultan was mad. Still, the judicious Elphinstone writes: 'Yet the whole of these splendid talents and accomplishments was given to him in vain; they were accompanied by a perversion of judgment which, after every allowance for the intoxication of absolute power, leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity.'³⁹ Following the doubtful statement of Elphinstone later scholars have positively charged the Sultan, some with eccentricity and others with madness.⁴⁰ They took their cue from Barani who was at his wit's end to give a correct description of the Sultan who seemed to him a veritable wonder of creation, a rare combination of opposite qualities. If he had been insane, surely Barani and Ibn Batūtah would have made a statement to that effect in plain language. None of them does so and even those among later writers who describe him as bloody do not call him mad. There was no hereditary weakness which affected his brain for his father was a great warrior and statesman and his stock had not yet tasted enough of luxury to lose its martial vigour. Besides, it would have been impossible for an insane king to rule the empire for 27 years in such stormy times. The '*Ulama* who were already opposed to him would have issued a fatwah declaring that he was not entitled to rule over the 'faithful.' None of the administrative measures of Muhammad are such as can

³⁹ History of India, p. 395.

⁴⁰ Havell, Aryan Rule, p. 311.

Raverty, J. A. S. B., 1892, p. 328.

Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, IV, Second Edition, pp. 10-11.

Sir Richard Temple's Article in the Indian Antiquary, 1922, p. 208.

Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, p. 15.

Beveridge's Foreword to N. N. Law's Promotion of learning in India during Muhammadan Rule, p. XXII.

Arnold, The Caliphate, p. 103.

justify the charge of madness, though we might say with certainty that some of them were foolishly carried out and entailed much misery upon the population. But the foolish execution of an impolitic measure is a different thing from an act of positive madness.

A still more serious charge closely bound up with the charge of cruelty brought against the Sultan by Barani is that of irreligious-

ness. Barani denounces the Sultan's chief advisers who were instrumental in causing the death of Musalmans. He writes: 'The philosophers had so firmly planted their ideas in his mind that there was no room in it for the Holy Book and the sayings of the Prophets which are the pillars of Islam. He believed nothing that did not appeal to his reason. If Sultan Muhammad had not been influenced by the ideas of these philosophers and had faith in the sayings of the Prophets, he would have never committed such acts, possessed as he was of great qualities and accomplishments. So powerful was the hold of philosophical ideas on him that he cared nothing for the heavenly books. As a result of this, it became his habit to slay the true believers in God, among whom were the 'Ulama, ~~franciscans~~, Sufis, Qalandars, scribes and men of the army. Not a week or day passed ~~without~~ when Muslims were not slain, and a stream of blood did not flow before the palace gate. All this was due to lack of faith in the knowledge contained in the revealed books.'⁴¹

Barani bases his charge upon the philosophical studies of the Sultan and his love of ratiocination. A careful examination of this passage will show how sweeping the charge is. The Sultan is charged not merely with the slaughter of the learned and pious but also scribes and soldiers, and Barani ascribes this tendency to his lack of faith and the visionary character of his mind. As a bigoted ecclesiastic, averse to the shedding of Muslim blood, he regarded the death of every Muslim culprit as an instance of wanton cruelty due to lack of faith. Later historians have reiterated the charge with more or less verbal amendments. Yahya Sirhindi clearly states that in Dihli and its environs the 'Ulama and the *faqirs* were wantonly slain so that heaps of corpses rose up in front of the palace gate, but strangely enough in the same breath he speaks of four *muftis* who were stationed in the palace and with whom the Sultan discussed the pros and cons of a case before

⁴¹ Barani, Calcutta Text, pp. 465-66.
India Office MS. f. 295.

pronouncing judgment. It appears from his account that the Sultan was particularly anxious to see that no injustice was done to any body and that the *muftis* fully considered each case before it was finally disposed of.

Nizam-al-Din Ahmad while dwelling upon the Sultan's observance of religious fasts and prayers and his exemplary conduct writes that from constant association with men who were learned in philosophy, but had no concern with the law of the Prophet, the Sultan had acquired an impression that truth was confined only to ratiocinative learning.⁴² His language is more guarded than that of Barani and he does not emphasise the slaughter of the 'true believers' caused by the Sultan's lack of faith in traditional learning. Badāoni who is less judicious than Nizam-al-Din Ahmad only paraphrases Yahya's diatribe against the Sultan and falls into the same inconsistency.⁴³ Himself an orthodox Muslim, he condemns the system of government which made the *Sayyids*, '*Ulama*, *Shaiḫs*, low-born men, mean fellows, peasants and soldiers all alike in his eyes, but in the same breath he says that the Sultan was so scrupulous in inflicting punishments that he argued with the *muftis* and warned them that if any one were slain wrongfully by their oversight, the blood of that victim would be upon their heads.⁴⁴ Firishta like Nizam-al-Din blames the Sultan for desiring to combine in his own person the temporal and spiritual functions and writes: 'The Sultan paid no regard to religious learning. He allowed no privilege to the '*Ulama* in his *Darbār* and accepted only those things of religion which satisfied the test of reason.'⁴⁵ This is followed by the usual charge of the slaughter of true believers, saints, *sufis*, *Qalandars*, whose only fault as in Barani, is the profession of their faith. But like his predecessors Firishta praises the Sultan's strict observance of the five prayers and fasts and the exceptional purity of his private life. It is needless to mention other later writers, who have largely borrowed from Barani, Nizam-al-Din and Firishta their account of the Sultan's character.

⁴² Tabaqat-i-Akbari, Calcutta Text, p. 200.

⁴³ Calcutta Text, I, p. 238.

⁴⁴ Al-Badāoni, Calcutta Text, pt. I, p. 239.

⁴⁵ Firishta, Lucknow Text, p. 133.

It was Barani who popularised the idea of the Sultan's hostility to the faith, but on a close examination, his account is found to be a tissue of contradictions and inconsistencies. We have to decide whether the Sultan had really given up the principles of his faith and permitted the slaughter of *Shaikhs*, *sufis* and the 'Ulama on religious grounds. Barani himself admits in the course of his narrative that the Sultan observed the *namaz* with the strictness of a true Muslim and rose from his seat as soon as he heard the cry of the *muazzin*.⁴⁶ An antidote to Barani's exaggerated condemnation is supplied by other contemporary writers. Ibn Batūtah who knew the Sultan well observes:—

“The stories of the generosity and gallantry of this Prince are well known among the people as his punishments of the culprits and wrong-doers. But he is a great lover of justice and right. He follows the practices of religion with devoutness and performs the prayers himself and punishes those who neglect them.”⁴⁷ He mentions the cruel practices of the Sultan, but he does not sweep into a single line all classes of men from peasants and soldiers to Shaikhs and Sufis. He praises the devoutness of the Sultan and mentions the punishments of wrong-doers only. Badr-i-Chāch and Shihāb-al-Din also declare that the Sultan was deeply religious. We read in the *Masālik* that many soldiers and amirs read the *fiqah* and the 'Ulama attended on him during the Ramzan and observed the fast. Instead of slaying *faqirs* he fed thousands of them at the expense of the state. He knew by heart the Quran and the *Hidāyah*, the famous treatise on jurisprudence, which embodies the principles of the sect of Abu Hanifah. He enforced the religious prayers among all classes of his subjects and severely dealt with those who neglected them. On one occasion nine men were slain for this offence, and if Ibn Batūtah be true, this would prove rather an excess of religious zeal than want of it.⁴⁸ A catechism was prepared and those who failed to repeat the prescribed formula were punished. Men were employed to bring from the markets those who did not attend the mosque at the appointed hours of prayer, and this order was executed with such fidelity that even the grooms who stood at the gates of the Hall of Audience

⁴⁶ Calcutta Text, p. 506.

⁴⁷ Ibn Batūtah, III, p. 216.

⁴⁸ Ibn Batūtah, III, pp. 286-87.

were brought by force and made to say their prayers. The result of this severity was that men were seen in the streets of the town reciting verses from the Quran. The idea of enforced piety may sound strange to modern ears, but in the middle ages it was a recognised practice of states to govern the consciences and beliefs of their subjects. The Muslim state had not yet altogether thrown off its theocratic guise, although the present Sultan had considerably diminished the power of the clericals.

'Ain-al-Mulk Multani who is another contemporary writer lets not fall even a word in his numerous letters and dispatches to suggest that the Sultan was irreligious or had a fondness for shedding the blood of innocent Shaikhs, Sufis, and others. A distinguished servant of the state who was an eyewitness of most of the events of Muhammad's reign, says nothing about the Sultan's cruelty to Muslims, and his silence, which may have been dictated by any motive, though not a conclusive argument is certainly significant. Among those who wrote within forty years of Muhammad's death are Shams-i-Siraj 'Afif, Sultan Firuz Tughluq himself and the author of the *Sirat*. These men are certainly more reliable than later historians, because their knowledge of Muhammad's reign was derived partly from books and personal knowledge and partly from the testimony of living persons. 'Afif and Firuz say nothing from which we might infer that the Sultan was in any way lacking in faith. If Muhammad had been wanting in religion, Firuz would have certainly done something for the peace of his soul, just as he tried to reconcile him to the heirs of those who had suffered at his hands. On the contrary, 'Afif positively asserts that Shaikhs and Maulvis were present in the royal camp at Thatta when the Sultan died during his expedition against Taghi. The author of the *Sirat* who wrote 21 years after Muhammad's death describes him as a highly religious monarch and says that he was induced in part by his deep religious feeling to apply for investiture to the Khalifah and he is corroborated by Ibn Batūtah. Further proof of his devotion and humility is supplied by the legends on his coins. Unlike his predecessors he adopts humble titles and makes no parade of his power. He describes himself on his coins as 'the warrior in the path of God, the Reviver of the laws of the last of the Prophets, the just' and superscriptions such as 'struck in the time of the servant hoping for the mercy of God' and 'in the time of the servant, the one who trusts in the help of God' and

'dominion and greatness are of God' testify to his deep religious feeling.⁴⁹ The names of the four orthodox Khalifahs Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Usman and 'Ali appear for the first time on the coinage of Dihli. When the Sultan issued the token currency, he appealed in the name of religion to his people and asked them to accept the token coins. No penalty was laid down for refusal and he trusted entirely to his own honesty and the dictates of religion for their acceptance. The submission to the Khalifah was dictated by political motives but from the manner in which the Sultan treated the Khalifah's envoy, the robe of honour and the patent of investiture it appears that his reverence which at times bordered on the ludicrous was at least in part the result of his religious beliefs. Even Barani was bewildered by the Sultan's humility and writes: 'I cannot help remarking that Sultan Muhammad was one of the wonders of the creation. His contradictory qualities were beyond the grasp of knowledge and common sense.'⁵⁰ When the penurious 'Abbasid Ghiyas-al-Din came to his court, he behaved in his presence with incredible meekness, and, if Ibn Batūta is to be trusted, the Sultan placed on one occasion the 'Abbasid's foot upon his neck to signify his respect for the Khalifah. That a mighty monarch, master of such a vast empire, should demean himself in this manner in the presence of a man who was dependent upon his own charity puzzled his contemporaries no less than it puzzles the modern enquirer. But a close study of the character and habits of the Sultan clearly shows that he forgot his dignity in doing reverence to an idea and a tradition of which the impecunious 'Abbasid was a living embodiment.

The true explanation of the charge of heterodoxy is to be found in the Sultan's disregard of the pretensions of the 'Ulama. In every respect his policy ran counter to the principles of the orthodox school. In the matter of taxation he deviated from the canon law. The state gave up completely its proselytizing character which was much in prominence during Firuz's reign. The Hindus were treated with toleration and none of the contemporary writers mentions instances of wholesale persecution. The statement of the *Masālik* that he extirpated infidelity in the land, unbacked as it is by specific instances, is nothing more than the usual encomium bestowed by a

⁴⁹ Thomas, *Chronicles*, p. 249.

J.A.S.B. 1921 (Numismatic Supplement, XXXV), pp. 153—55.

⁵⁰ Barani, *Calcutta Text*, pp. 497-98.

Muslim writer upon a ruler who was devoted to his faith. The author of the *Sirat* in giving an account of Firuz's expedition to Nagarkot positively asserts that when Muhammad led an attack upon the citadel, he spared the temple of Jwālāmukhi at the request of the Rai of Nagarkot.⁵¹ Macauliffe's statement that he persecuted the Maratha saint Namadeva is chronologically inadmissible.⁵² From his youth upwards he had conversed with men of broad views and had developed a rationalistic frame of mind which made it impossible for him to play into the hands of the 'Ulama, to grant one period to some and impose disabilities upon others. He thisers were officers like Firuz's 'āmils to convert the unbelievers to a close. He enjoyed the society of Hindu Jogis (mendicants) and witnessed their performances. The Muslims became disciples of these men, but the Sultan never punished them even when he had personal knowledge of such matters. The Portuguese chronicler Nuniz, who wrote in the 15th century, basing his statement obviously on tradition says that during his conquest of Gujarat Muhammad Tughluq built a large pagoda which existed in his days—a fresh proof of the Sultan's toleration.⁵³ He was fond of Ganges water and did not object to his new town near Khor being called Saragdwāri which was a Hindu name.

As a Sunni Barani regretted the loss of the power of his order, and when the Sultan laid his hands upon the *Shaiḫhs* and the 'Ulama, he aroused bitter animosities. There is nothing to show that he disregarded the injunctions of the Quran. He adopted a policy which the interests of his growing empire demanded. Deprived of their ascendancy, the clergy acquiesced in what they called the irreligious projects of the Sultan and Barani, stung with remorse, writes that he became wretched and degraded on account of his going against the dictates of his conscience for fear of the Sultan.⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Sirat*, Bankipore, MS.

⁵² Macauliffe. *The Sikh Religion*, VI, pp. 26-27.

In Nabhāji's *Bhaktmāla* an authoritative work of the Vaisnava sect the date of Nama Deva is given 1488 A.D.

Bhaktmāla, Nawal Kishore Press Edition, p. 308.

But Dr. Bhandārkar fixes 1270 A.D. as the date of his birth. In either case he could not have lived in the time of Muhammad Tughluq. Bhandārkar, *Vaisnavism, Saivism*, p. 89. See also Ranade's *Indian Mysticism*.

⁵³ Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 9.

⁵⁴ Barani, *Calcutta Text*, p. 465.

This confession of plain opportunism by a member of the class of 'Ulama reflects little credit on him and considerably reduces the weight of his testimony in a matter affecting the position of the order to which he belonged.

The charge of heterodoxy, then, is preposterous. That the Sultan was in enlightenment and knowledge far ahead of the self-seeking and bigoted ecclesiastics of his day admits of no doubt. That his actions fell short of their expectations does not by itself constitute an offence, but in an age when liberalism was almost unknown, nothing but militant propaganda would have invited the approbation of divines. Muhammad's Egyptian ceded on the Nāsir, though a man of tolerant nature, was forced to his opinion to adopt a policy of repression in dealing with Christians. But Muhammad battled against orthodoxy to the end of his life. His rationalism in religious matters and his tolerant attitude towards the Hindus and his unwillingness to degrade and abase them alienated the sympathies of the 'Ulama with the result that they conspired against him and misrepresented his motives and actions. —

Muhammad is charged with having brought about by his unwise and tyrannical policy the break-up of the sultanate of Dihli. It will

Break-up of the Empire. be admitted on all hands that his policy and plans had much to do with the disruption of the

empire. But there is one important consideration which we should not lose sight of in apportioning blame. It is unfair to saddle the responsibility entirely upon him. His great predecessor, 'Ala-al-Din Khilji, had built up a vast empire which extended to the farthest extremity of the South, but soon after his death it broke up and Ghiyas-al-Din had to reassert his authority over the Deccan and Bengal. A large empire could not hold together in the 14th century when the means of communication were highly inadequate and the north and south were separated by historical, geographical and ethnological differences. The essential ingredients of an empire—unity, cohesion among the component groups and the community of interest—were absent. The military position was far from secure. From the distant capital in the north it was well-nigh impossible to check the forces of disorder in a country where racial and religious fanaticism had not yet completely exhausted its strength. The provincial satraps were always anxious to found independent dynasties, and the central power was frequently compelled to allow them to exercise authority according

to their discretion. There is no evidence to prove that the Sultan was negligent or indolent. With an overmastering sense of duty, Barani informs us, he issued mandates and decrees and attempted measures to effectuate his ascendancy in the north and south. Later he tried to introduce ameliorative reforms for the benefit of his people and during famine spent lakhs to afford relief to the agricultural population. But the broils of his nobles, the dearth of capable native officers, the protracted famine, the Sultan's own lack of statesmanship—all combined to frustrate his plans. Throughout the period it appears that the clericalists and their sympathisers were anxious to see the present régime speedily brought to a close. Want of tact and sympathy on the part of the Sultan made the situation worse. His own confessions show that he invariably believed himself to be in the right and fathered the responsibility for the disturbances of his reign on his nobles and subjects. It was difficult for a mediæval despot to act otherwise, for the acknowledgment of mistake was tantamount to a confession of weakness. The Sultan's policy based on his unassisted calculations took the people by surprise and his measures provoked disgust and resentment by their sheer novelty. Remorselessly he swept away those who failed to come up to his standard or stood in his way. With the best possible intentions in the world and with a firm will to carry them out, the Sultan failed because he became an enigma to his own generation. He failed to realise the truth that heroic remedies are as dangerous to the body-politic as they are to the human organism and that for a monarch in the India of the 14th century *festina lente* was a sound maxim. But over and above faults of a personal character the peculiar circumstances in which he was placed largely contributed to his failure. Towards the close of his reign the empire was reduced in extent, but it was stronger than it was at the time of the death of his cousin Firuz whose methods of government are applauded by all Muslim writers. Indeed, the elements of vigour were so completely undermined that the central authority found itself powerless to arrest the progress of anarchy which became a normal feature of Indian politics after 1388 A.D. Yet how different is the verdict of clerical writers on Firuz Tughluq?

AUTHORITIES

In studying the history of the Tughluqs one is struck by the paucity of original material, but thanks to the labour of European and Indian researchists and antiquarians several works of importance have come to light which are of great help in interpreting the history of this period. Two authorities for a history of the dynasty during the first three decades of its rule may be classified under the following heads :

- (1) Contemporary sources.
- (2) Sources nearly contemporary.
- (3) Secondary or later sources.
- (4) Contemporary literature.
- (5) Archæological evidence.
- (6) The English works.

The contemporary authorities which directly deal with the period are :—

- (i) Zia Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shahi*.
- (ii) Shihab-al-Din's *Masālik-al-absar-fi-Mamālik-al-amsār*.
- (iii) Ibn Batūtah's account of his travels in India.
- (iv) The Qasāid of Badr-i-Chāch.
- (v) Amir Khusrau's *Tughluqnamah*.

Besides these, there are other works mentioned such as Shams-i-Sirāj's *Manāqib-i-Sultan Tughluq* and *Manāqib-i-Sultan Muhammad*, but these are not known to exist.

The principal authority which has been more or less used by all historians for this period is Zia Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firūz Shahi*. Zia was a native of Baran (modern Bulandshahr) in the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh. He was born probably in or about the year 684 A.H. (1285 A.D.), for he says that in 758 A.H. (1359 A.D.), when he completed his history he was seventy-four years of age. His father and uncle were employed in the service of the state, and he was himself patronised by Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. Thus, he had unique opportunities of acquainting himself with the affairs of the Sultans of Dihli. He wrote several other works

besides his history. The author of the *Matlūb-al-tālbīn* credits him with the authorship of the *Sanāi Muhammadi*, the *Salwat-i-Kabīr*, the '*Ināyatnamah Ilāhi*', the *Masir-i-Sādāt*, and the *Akhbar Barmākīyan*. Barani's history is a continuation of Minhāj-i-Siraj's *Tabqat-i-Nāsiri* which was compiled during the reign of Sultan Nāsir-al-Din Mahmūd Shah of the slave dynasty and contains an account of the Sultans of Dihli from Balban to Firuz Shah Tughluq. Barani was well-qualified to write a history of this period. Himself an accomplished scholar, he associated with men like Amir Khusrau and Amir Hasan Dihlwi who were held in esteem at court. He was a disciple of Shaikh Nizām-al-Din Aulia and frequently associated with him. In his preface which is written in highly inflated language after the fashion of the day, Barani expatiates at length upon the value and usefulness of history. He rates historical learning above the '*Ilm-i-tafsīr* (knowledge of the commentaries of the Quran), *Hadīs* (tradition), *Fiqah* (law) and *Sufism* and writes that he has found history more useful than all these branches of theological learning. Among trustworthy historians he mentions four—Khwajah Sadr Nizāmi, the author of the *Tāj-al-Māsir*, Sadr-al-Din 'Ufi, the author of the *Jām-al-Hikāyat*, Minhaj-i-Siraj, the author of the *Tabqāt-i-Nāsiri* and Kabīr-al-Din, son of Tāj-al-Din 'Iraqi, who wrote an account of the conquests of 'Ala-al-Din in elegant diction. He praises these historians and lays down the canons of historical writing, which have a touch of modernity about them. 'Truth' says he, 'is all-important for the historian. It is the foundation of all history. If a historian describes the good qualities of a king, he ought not to conceal his defects. Considerations of partiality or friendship should not influence the writing of history. If he cannot record the truth plainly he must do so by suggestions and implications. A historian may be excused, if he does not state the truth about living persons, but it is his bounden duty to write what is true about those who are dead.' Barani took great pains to write his history which he regards as a compendium of all useful knowledge—at once a history of kings and emperors and a treatise on the art of government. Like a mediæval scholar he takes upon himself the rôle of a reviewer and writes that he has stated nothing but the truth and appeals to his readers to believe him. He holds out his book as a model for those who aspire to write history and considers it superior to all other historical works,

Barani was in close contact with Sultan Muhammad Tughluq who showed him great favour on account of his literary attainments. He writes in the course of his narrative that for seventeen years and three months he had received many favours and gifts from the Sultan. Whatever he writes about this remarkable king, he writes from personal observation. He was frequently consulted by him on matters of state, though the historian, according to his own confession, seldōm gave honest advice. Barani finished his history in 758 A.H. and included in it an account of the first six years of the reign of Sultan Firuz Shah, son of Sipahsalar Rajab whom Major Lees in his illuminating article on the 'Materials for the History of India' has confounded with Sālār Mas'ud Ghazi who is entombed at Bahraich.¹ The historian's old age was spent in great poverty and misery. He retired to a village near Dihli and all accounts agree that he was penniless at the time. Indeed; so poor and destitute had he become that he had not even a piece of cloth to serve as his shroud. He bewails his fate in pathetic language, expresses contrition for his sins in the present life and dreads the punishments in the world to come.² Barani's history contains only an account of the first six years of that monarch's rule. The work which he left unfinished was carried on by Shams-i-Sirāj 'Aff, the official historian of Firuz, who brought down his history to the end of his reign.

I have utilised and compared several MSS. of Barani's *Tariḫ-i-Firūz Shahi*. The India Office MS., though not dated, seems to be an old copy. Probably it was written in the 15th century. The calligraphic style is not uniform in the book. In some places it is the later style which came into vogue under the Mughals, while in others it is the old style of pre-Mughal days. The MS. on the whole resembles the *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* in calligraphic style. The Buhār MS., though not dated, is a beautifully written copy and is more correct than the Khudābakhsh Text which was badly arranged when I consulted it. It seems older than the other Indian Texts. The Khudābakhsh MS., which appears to have belonged to the library of the Nawabs of Oudh, is probably a 16th century copy, but it contains many errors. The A. S. B. MS., which belonged at one time to Tippu Sultan's library, is written in beautiful *nastāliq* and is superior in point of accuracy to the Khudābakhsh Text. I have

¹ J. R. A. S. 1868, p. 444.

² Barani, Cal. Text, p. 23.

compared all these with the Text of Barani published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series and have noted the differences wherever they occur. Many discrepancies have come to light and they have been discussed in the body of this work. In my judgment the Text published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal is on the whole correct and reliable. The extracts given by Sir Henry Elliot are defective in several places and I have discussed them wherever I have found them differing from the original Text.

Another contemporary work of great value is the *Tuhftuh-al-nazzar fi gharāib-al-amisār wa 'ajāib-al-Safar* of Ibn Batūtah who

Ibn Batūtah. writes his full name as Abu 'Abdullah Muhammad bin 'Abdullah bin Muhammad bin Ibrāhīm of Lavat of Tanjah (Tangiers). Ibn Batūtah was born at Tangiers on Monday, the 27th Rajab, 703 A.H., March 5, 1304 A.D. From his early youth he had a passion for voyages and started from home, leaving his parents who were living at the time on Thursday, the 2nd Rajab, 725 A.H. (January 14, 1325 A.D.) when he was only 22 years of age and did not return home until he was nearly ~~fifty~~ in Zi-al-Hijjah, 754 A.H. (December 1353 A.D.). Ibn Batūtah writes that he had lost all his notes during the voyage and wrote the account of his travels from memory. This was completed on Zi-al-Hijjah 3, 756 A.H. (December 13, 1355 A.D.) The present *Safarnāmah* is an abridgment of Ibn Batūtah's book made by Ibn Juzzī who describes him as the greatest traveller among Muslims. Ibn Juzzī finished his summary in the month of Safar, 757 A.H. (February, 1356 A.D.).

In the course of his voyages Ibn Batūtah visited numerous Asiatic countries and cities of which he has given pretty full accounts. Passing through the whole longitude of Africa, he reached Alexandria and visited Cairo where he stayed for some time. From Cairo he started for Mecca, but wars in the Red Sea prevented him from doing so and he was obliged to turn back. He proceeded to Palestine and Syria and visited the cities of Aleppo and Damascus. He went to Mecca where he stayed for three years and from there started on his voyage. Passing through African and Egyptian territories, he again reached Syria and made an extensive tour throughout the small Turkish monarchies which existed in Asia Minor. He then crossed the Black Sea to Caffa, the first Christian city which he visited. After protracted wanderings by devious routes in Kipchak and Middle Russia where he was very much struck by

the regard which the Tartars showed for their women, he proceeded towards Constantinople. From there he traversed across the desert to Khwarizm and Bokhara and to Transoxiana where he stayed for 54 days with Tarmāshirīn of whom he writes a detailed notice. After this he proceeded to Khorasan and Afghanistan and passing through the passage of the Hindukush he entered Sindh and reached the bank of the Indus on Muharram 1, 734, A.H. (September 12, 1333 A.D.) This is the commencement of his Indian voyage of which he has given a detailed account in his *Safarnamah*. When Ibn Batūtah reached Dihlī, the Sultān (Muhammad Tughluq) had gone towards Kanauj. He was hospitably received by the Queen-mother Makhdum Jahan who bestowed valuable gifts upon him. The Wazīr Khwajah Jahan presented the traveller with 2,000 *dinars* as his *sorshasti* (for washing the head) allowance, a *Khil'at* of silk and rewards for his companions and servants according to their rank. The Sultan who had been informed of the traveller's arrival sent an order that a Jagir, yielding an income of 5,000 *dinars* a year should be granted to him. This was done and three villages Bawali (Badali), Basī (Basahi) and half of Balrah which were 16 *krohs* from the capital in the *sadi* of Hindpat (Sonpat) were assigned to him for his maintenance. Ibn Batūtah was called Maulana Badr-al-Din in Hindustan. When the Sultan came back to the capital, he received the traveller kindly and appointed him Qazi of Dihli on a salary of 12,000 *dinars* per annum. Ibn Batūtah, who, all of a sudden, began to bask in the sunshine of royal favour, forgot the limitations of his purse and cultivated extravagant habits. So much so indeed, that on one occasion his debts amounted to 55,000 *dinars* to pay which he had recourse to shifty devices notwithstanding his dignity as a high judicial officer of the state. He remained in the service of the Sultan for eight years and during this period he took part in several important transactions. When the Sultan left for Ma'bar, he left Ibn Batūtah at Dihli in charge of the monastery of Qutb-al-Din which had a large establishment to manage. Towards the close of his residence in India, Ibn Batūtah fell out of favour and the cause of this royal displeasure was his visit to Shaikh Shihāb-al-Din bin Shaikh Jām who had offended the Sultan by calling him a tyrant. He was placed under surveillance which caused him much anxiety. He began to fast and pray for days together in order to escape from royal wrath and gave up all thought of worldly enjoyments and pleasures. When the Sultan heard of his asceticism in Sindh whither

he had gone to suppress a local rebellion, he summoned him in his presence and offered him service again in Jamād-al-ākhir, 742 A.H. (Nov. 1341 A.D.). Ibn Batūtah declined and began to practise religious observances as before. After forty days he was again called by the Sultan who expressed his intention to send him on an embassy to China. Ibn Batūtah obeyed the command and started on his journey on the 17th Safar, 743 A.H. (July 22, 1342 A.D.) with a large number of costly presents of all kinds for the emperor of China. By a circuitous route in describing which he has made much confusion he reached the port of Qandhar and took ship for China. On the way the party met with a serious mishap. The ship in which Ibn Batūtah and his companions were sailing was sunk and all were killed including Amir Zahīr-al-Din and the slave Kāfūr. After the accident the Moor went to Hanaur where he was coldly received by Sultan Jamāl-al-Din. He left the place after two months and went back to Calicut where he took ship for the Maldive islands. From the Maldives he proceeded to Ceylon and thence to Ma'bar where he was well received by his relative Ghiyās-al-Din Damghānī. He stayed at Madura for some time and enjoyed the hospitality of the Sultan. After long wanderings in Bengal he started on his voyage to China *via* Java, Sumatra, and the islands of the Indian Archipelago. Colonel Yule doubts whether Ibn Batūtah ever went to China, but it appears from the detailed account of that country given by him and corroborated by other historians that he did visit China, though he could not fulfil the mission with which Muhammad had entrusted him. On his return from China he again came to India and stayed at Calicut for some time. Fearing the wrath of the Sultan of Dihli, he did not go to Dihli and embarked on boardship and finally reached home towards the close of 755 A.H. (1354 A.D.). Here he recorded those observations which have entitled him to be placed in the forefront of the world's greatest travellers. Ibn Batūtah died at the age of seventy-three in 1377-78 A.D.

Lees' translation of the Travels of Ibn Batūtah which was translated from the abridged Arabic MSS. preserved in the public library of Cambridge with notes and which was published by the Oriental Translation Fund in 1829 A.D. does not go far enough and fails to give us a complete picture of the India of Muhammad Tughluq's time. More full and accurate is the French edition of Ibn Batūtah's Voyages by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti in four volumes with a French translation of the text, a chronology and

an exhaustive list of contents. When the French conquered Algiers, MSS. of the unabridged work came into their hands. There are now five copies in the Imperial Library of Paris only two of which are complete. One of them, Yule remarks (Cathay II, p. 42), has been proved to be an autograph of Ibn Juzzī, the original editor, who abridged the memoranda prepared by the traveller himself. Portions of the travels dealing with Central Asian Countries appeared from time to time in the *Journal Asiatique*, but the portion dealing with India was never published *in extenso*.

The third volume of the *Travels* edited by Deffrémery and Sanguinetti deals with India and the fourth gives an account of Ibn Batūtah's wanderings in India and his homeward voyage and embodies his observations regarding the countries he visited, and the peoples amongst whom he lived and moved.

The full name of the work is *Masālik-al-absār-fi mamālik-al-amsār* which means ways of sight regarding the countries and cities of the world. The author of the work was

The *Masālik-al-absār*. Shihāb-al-Dīn Ahmad bin Sahiō popularly known as Al-marāshi. He was born in the year 697 A.H. (1297 A.D.) and died at Damascus in 749 A.H. (1348 A.D.). He does not say much about himself except that his ancestors, like himself, were employed in the service of the Sultans of Egypt. His father Qazī Muhi-al-Dīn was a royal amanuensis who dealt with confidential despatches at Damascus. He was dismissed from office and it was after some time that he became the head of the department of secret correspondence in Egypt. The author, being a man of considerable literary attainments, assisted his father in both offices. Shihab-al-Dīn is said to have written seven works on different subjects of which the *Masālik* is known to us. So far as I am aware there is only one copy of the work and that too is incomplete in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris which Quatrémère has translated in Tome XIII of his *Notices et extraits*. Sir Henry Elliot has translated (III, pp. 573—85) extracts from the French translation of Quatrémère into English. I have utilised a rotograph copy of the portion dealing with India which was obtained by me through the good offices of Professor Sylvain Levi from the Bibliothèque Nationale Paris. The colophon of the MS. contains the names of the work and the author who is surnamed Al-marāshi instead of Al-marākashi. There are two dates at the top—964 A.H. (1556 A.D.), and 1032 A.H. (1622 A.D.)—but it is not clear what they

signify. The title page contains the name of the author in Arabic and its French equivalent is given as Shihab-al-Din bin Ahmad bin Shahir vulgo dicte al-Marāshi.

The *Masālik* contains fourteen chapters which are enumerated in the MS. of which the first deals with India and Sindh. The author writes that before the commencement of this work he knew nothing but patiently acquired knowledge from those who possessed information about things and men. He alludes to two works which he utilised :

(1) The *Tuhfatuh albāb* by Muhammad bin 'Abdul Rahim which contains a description of Hindustan ; and

(2) *Ighd-al-Fa'id* by Ibn 'Abd-Rabbah and his account is largely based on information supplied by one Shaikh Mubarak bin Mahmud. Amba Shihab-al-Din in writing about India says : 'I used to learn a great deal about India from books and the reports of men which seem very agreeable to the eyes and ears. But since the country was far away, I could not ascertain the truth of what I read and heard. When I began to write this book and tried to find out which of the informants were reliable, I came to know that the reality far excelled what I had heard and read in books.' Shaikh Mubarak is the principal informant of Shihāb-al-Din. His ancestors were held in high esteem by the Sultans of Hindustan and he himself had witnessed some of the great victories of Muhammad Tughluq. His account of conquests is complete, though geographically not quite correct and the figures furnished by him are doubtless much exaggerated. Besides Shaikh Mubarak, the author of the *Masālik* obtained information from several other persons whose names he mentions in the course of his narrative.

These are :—

- (1) Shaikh Burhān-al-Din Abu Bakr bin jalāl Beezi.
- (2) Sirāj-al-Din Abu-al-Safā 'Omar bin Ishaq bin Ahmad Shibli Auzi (of Oudh) who was a native of Oudh and learned in theology. He frequently visited the court of the Sultan of Dihli. He mentions the provinces of the empire of Muhammad and he is supported by other evidence.
- (3) Abu Muhammad Hasan bin Muhammad Ghori Hanafī Qāzī-al-Quzāt.

- (4) Abu Bakr Buz̄ī.
- (5) Khwajah Ahmad bin Khwajah 'Omar bin Musāfir.
- (6) Shaikh Muhammad Khojandī who had been in the military service of the Sultan.
- (7) Sharif Tāj-al-Din Hasan Samarqandī.
- (8) Yahya.
- (9) 'Ali bin Mansūr, an 'Arab Amir of Bahrain who had frequently visited Hindustan, and knew much about Sultan Muhammad.

The *Masālik*, though it does not contain a connected history of Sultan Muhammad's reign, gives valuable information about the administration, the character of the Sultan and the currency and weights and measures of the time. Most of these details are corroborated by other contemporary writers and hence there can be no doubt about its general reliability.

The Qasāid or odes of Badr-i-Chāch, though they do not contain much historical matter, help us to explain certain points in connection with the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. The Qasāid Badr-i-Chāch. poet whose real name was Badr-al-Din or 'Full moon of religion' was a native of Chāch or Shash which is modern Tashqand. He enjoyed the patronage of Muhammad Tughluq and in recognition of his poetical gift received from him the title of Fakhr-al-Zamān. Sir Henry Elliot has translated (III, pp. 567—573) certain odes, but no complete translation is available. There are three copies of the *Diwan* of Badr-i-Chāch in the Khudābakhsh library of which a detailed notice is given in Maulvī Muqtadir's catalogue. The MS. No. 140 is the best of all, though it is slightly damaged and worm-eaten. It contains ample explanatory notes on the margin. The colophon of the MS. contains an inscription to the effect that the MS. was admitted into the royal library in the time of Emperor Farrukh-Siyar. Badr-i-Chāch helps us in determining certain disputed dates and gives some account of the patent of the Khalifah, the recall of Qutlugh Khan from the Deccan in 745 A.H., and the conquest of Nagarkot. The poet describes the Sultan as obedient to the laws of the Prophet and loyal to the Khalifah and feels pride in attending his court. His muse was not shocked by the barbarities of the Sultan which moved his contemporary Barani. Badr-i-Chāch is well known for his difficult style, gorgeous imagery and frigid conceits which is in

Prof. Browne's words a common characteristic of the Persian poetry produced by men of the Turkish race or writing under Turkish influence and patronage.³ The poet sometimes writes in a rancorous vein, and in a satire on a certain rival poet Nāsir-al-Din he so far forgets the dignity of his lofty vocation as to speak ill of his wife, and says that he does not know even the alphabet, a way of reviling peculiar to mediæval wits. The poet finished his work in the month of Zi-al-Q'adah 745 A.H., i.e., seven years before the death of his patron and the date of his death is expressed in the following verse⁴ :—

سال تاریخ عرب "دولت شه" ذی قعدة
آسمان عقد گهرهای مرا دان نظام

Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is the only extant authority which gives a full account of the first two Tughluqs. Later writers derived

A critical
estimate of con-
temporary autho-
rities.

much of their information from Barani and most of the 16th and 17th century writers based their writings largely upon his history. As a contemporary Barani who was in the service of the state had unique opportunities of acquainting himself with the affairs of the Sultans of Dihli. Though he has his own limitations as a member of the class of 'Ulama, he supplies pretty full information about many important events. In dealing with Muhammad Tughluq's reign he abandons the chronological method and selects the most important events of the reign for discussion. It would not be right to infer from this division into topics that he sought to establish a pre-conceived thesis. To understand his attitude towards Sultan Muhammad it is necessary to bear in mind the canons of historical writing followed in mediæval India. Most of those who wrote historical works belonged to the class of 'Ulama and looked at things from the theological point of view. They praised those who followed the formulæ of the orthodox school and condemned those who acted contrary to them. Rulers like 'Ala-al-Din who cared nothing for the verdict of the 'Ulama and did what seemed beneficial to the state received scant praise at the hands of these writers. On the contrary, weak-minded men like Firuz who followed the orthodox principles were held up as ideal Muslim rulers. To find favour with these historians, one must follow the dictates of the

³ Persian Literature under Tartar Dominions, p. 110.

⁴ Bankipore MS. No. 140, f. 64.

Quran in the matter of administration and humiliate and crush the Hindus, which was looked upon as a meritorious act. Barani belonged to this school. He was well pleased with Ghiyās because he was an orthodox Muslim who patronised his co-religionists and reduced the Hindus to poverty and submission. But he changes his tone in describing the reign of Sultan Muhammad. He bestows lavish praise upon him for his great qualities of intellect and character and expresses his bewilderment at the 'bold and visionary' schemes which he pursued to the detriment of his empire. Barani wrote under official patronage. He was aware that Firuz had a tender regard for his cousin's reputation and, therefore, although he praises the Sultān for many things, he finds it impossible to forgive him for his disregard of the 'Ulama and to understand his plans and policies which were so original and in advance of the age. For matters that did not affect his order or the religion of Islam he is perfectly reliable, and, though he is always deficient in chronology and careless in his method of arrangement, he records the annals of the reign with considerable accuracy and truthfulness. In his preface he emphasises the importance of historical truth and promises to write nothing but the truth; but he is led astray by his clerical bias. He was prejudiced against Sultan Muhammad for several reasons. Firstly, the inhabitants of his native district Baran had suffered at the hands of the Sultan and his officers during a punitive expedition led by him to suppress disorder. The object of the expedition did not matter to a theologian like Barani who had little appreciation of the needs of the administration. Secondly, he does not approve of the generosity which the Sultan showed towards the foreigners. Though Barani only speaks in general terms of the magnificent gifts of the Sultan to foreigners, it is clear that neither the native officials nor the clericalists looked upon such a policy with favour. The presence of foreigners was gall and wormwood to them and they combined to thwart the administration which excluded them from its patronage. But the supreme faults of Muhammad were:—

- (1) his philosophical pursuits and the application of the principles of rationalism to matters of religion;
- (2) his generous treatment towards the Hindus and the absence of official persecution;
- (3) and his disregard of the 'Ulama and deviation from the orthodox path.

These charges explain Barani's attitude towards the Sultan. They have been fully discussed in the body of this work, but it is necessary to advert briefly to them here. He traces every disaster of the reign to the Sultan's ignorance of 'religious knowledge.' He does not appreciate his measures to reform the administration and among the five reasons which have led him to withhold his admiration from the Sultan one is the promulgation of new measures in rapid succession. It seemed to him that the state was not doing its duty in extending toleration towards the Hindūs. Muhammad's government fell far short of the ideal of a Muslim state. Indeed, the one lament that runs throughout Barani's gloomy narrative which we do not find in Ibn Batūtah is that Sunni Musalmans were wantonly slain and that no distinction was made between the ordinary man and the *Shaiḫs* and the 'Ulama. The principles of the Hanifi school were understood to be three—to look upon the shedding of Muslim blood as a sin, to follow the *Quran* and the *Hadīs* in administering justice, to restrict taxation to the prescribed four taxes and to adhere to the prescribed share of the spoils (1/5th for the state and 4/5ths for the army) prescribed in the *Quran*. Muhammad's administration violated all these principles. The clericalists were deprived of their monopoly of justice and were no longer treated as a sacrosanct order. Ibn Batūtah's narrative makes clear to us how the animosities of the 'Ulama were aroused against the Sultan. It was to strengthen his position against the opposition of these men that he applied to the Khalifah for a patent of investiture.

Barani's old age was one of gloom and sorrow. Poor and forlorn, when he sat down to write his history, he had not a spark of optimism left in him. He had lost his appointment, it seems, after the death of Muhammad and was passing his days in poverty. As he looked back, he saw nothing but the disastrous effects of what he considered a thoroughly misconceived policy. The splendour and success of the early years of Muhammad's reign contrasted with the failure of his subsequent years filled him with gloom, and though now and then he admires the Sultan's zeal for reform, the thought of ruin is so deeply rooted in his mind that he finds himself unable to trace events to their proper causes. Is it true that Barani indulged in deliberate falsehood? In fairness to that mediæval chronicler it must be said that it is impossible to make such an affirmation. Very probably he was sincere in his condemnation of the Sultan's measures. He is rather frank, for he confesses that he acquiesced

owing to fear and love of money in what Sultan Muhammad did against the *Shari'at* and expresses his regret for it. He is doubtless guilty of *suppressio veri* as in the matter of the death of Sultan Ghiyās-al-Din and the ameliorative reforms of the Sultān like the suppression of Satī. He was obsessed by the idea that Islam was being ruined by the Sultan's policy, and it was this mental obsession which prevented him from seeing things in their proper perspective. His attitude is precisely that of an orthodox Brāhmana Pandit attempting to write a history of modern India with its multifarious problems. The ideas of the educated Indian—his condemnation of caste, untouchability and the inviolability of the Brahmanical order and his faith in widow remarriage and foreign travel—will be described as so many disasters to religion. Barani could not get rid of such a mentality. Opportunism was not unknown to him for he writes in one place: 'I did not speak what was right and true on account of fear and greed. I do not know what will happen to me in future.' The observations of such a writer must be accepted with caution particularly when he is writing the history of a man whose ideas and ideals were wholly different to his own.

Barani is supplemented and in many places corrected by Ibn Batūtah. In the third volume of the voyages (French edition, pp. 464-65) there is an extract from Ibn Khaldun's history in which it is said that when Ibn Batūtah returned to his country and related the wonderful stories about the lands he had visited and the wealth and grandeur of the Sultan of Hindustan, his hearers were taken by surprise and felt disposed to disbelieve him. Ibn Khaldun had a talk with the Wazir Farasbin Wadrār about Ibn Batūtah and he advised him not to be so over-incredulous in accepting the accounts of great kingdoms and empires. There can be no doubt about Ibn Batūtah's general veracity, and any one who carefully peruses his narrative will subscribe to this view. The French translators describe him as a truthful recorder of events. The earlier view which European scholars formed of Ibn Batūtah from Lees' incomplete translation has been abandoned now, and my detailed and minute examination of the material relating to Muhammad's reign has convinced me of the great value of Ibn Batūtah's observations. Prof. Dozy Leyden describes his 'Travels' as a work of the first order while Reniaud in his introduction to Abdul Feda's geography writes that he excels

Ibn Haukal and Masudí. Even Mac Guckin de Slane who judged him a bit too severely says that his sincerity is above suspicion and agrees with Dozy in calling him an honest voyager. That Ibn Batūtah was gifted with uncommon powers of observation is amply proved by the enormous amount of careful and detailed information he supplies about the many Asiatic countries which he visited. But his account of Hindustan where he stayed eight years affords invaluable material for constructing a history of the reign of Muhammad Tughluq. He is not very reliable for things that never came under his notice although even here his remarks merit consideration, for often his information was derived from respectable eye-witnesses. He alone gives us a faithful picture of court life and the manners and customs of the age and graphically describes the character, the administrative reforms and the warlike exploits of Sultan Muhammad and corrects in material particulars the biased account of Barani. Ibn Batūtah is more reliable for he is an independent writer. When he wrote his observations in his distant home without notes or memoranda he had nothing to fear from the Sultan and had no expectation of reward. He is a careful recorder of events for he is amply corroborated by other contemporary and later writers. The more closely we compare his narrative with those of his contemporaries, the more are we convinced of his general truthfulness and his capacity for taking interest in human affairs. In several respects we find him in agreement with other writers who had no access to his travels when they wrote. He helps us in settling the chronology of the reign, and often furnishes details for which we look in vain in Barani. He mentions several things which Barani omits as for example the cause of the death of Sultan Ghiyas, the rebellion of Bahā-al-Din, the *durbars* of Muhammad and the practical working of the government in its multifarious activities. We gather from him the details regarding the administration of justice and have no reason to disbelieve him in view of the fact that he was intimately connected with public affairs.

But Ibn Batūtah is not free from faults. Being a foreigner, he is sometimes credulous and places reliance upon hearsay and falls into exaggeration. He mixes up history with romance and fiction and sometimes interweaves real facts with gossip. In this respect he is inferior to Barani who has the equipment of a historian and is not prone to lend a willing ear to all kinds of reports. His superiority

to Barani consists in his distinterestedness; he is not the champion of an injured class or order and, therefore, impartial. But he is neither methodical nor scientific. He is careless about the chronological sequence of events as for example when he says that the corpses of Ghiyās-al-Din Bahadur and Bahā-al-Din were paraded together. He lacks accurate geographical knowledge and writes loosely about his journeys. Sometimes he carelessly substitutes the name of a city for one that has slipped off from his memory. He starts from Tilpat, goes to Biyanah and then comes back to Kol and again proceeds towards Gwalior thus adopting a circuitous route on his way to the Deccan. Many other inaccuracies and careless remarks can be cited, but they do not detract from the general soundness of his observations. From occasional slips which are inevitable in a work written from memory we cannot impugn his veracity as Yule feels disposed to do. Rather we ought to give credit to the man who penned without the aid of notes or jottings so much useful and authentic information about Hindustan and its people.

Ibn Batūtah, as he is revealed to us in his 'Travels' is an adventurous spirit who has a keen zest for life and a natural capacity for enjoyment and who takes delight in moving amidst strange and unfamiliar scenes and surroundings. A tendency to be extravagant accompanied by an attempt to get rid of an embarrassing situation by unworthy makeshifts, a kind of superstitious piety with a child-like belief in miracles, a moral laxity and yet a positive genius for seeing things and entering into the life of the people in whose midst he lived—these are some of the outstanding characteristics of this great mediæval traveller who ranks at once as the rival and compeer of the great Venetian.

The Masālik supplements both Barani and Ibn Batūtah. Its value rests on the ground that its author, though he never came to India, was an independent writer who neither courted the Sultan's favour nor feared his wrath and who had no motive in misrepresenting facts. In most cases his information was derived from trustworthy persons who had a first-hand knowledge of the affairs of Hindustan like Shaikh Mubarak and Khojandi. None of Shihāb-al-Din's informants says anything about the horrible deeds of the Sultan which profoundly moved Barani. There is undoubtedly looseness and exaggeration in the *Masālik* and I have great doubts about the accuracy of the figures supplied by its author. But the agreement of two independent authorities like Ibn Batūtah and the

author of the *Masālik* is valuable especially when they are corroborated by contemporary Indian authority. The *Masālik* throws much light upon the economic condition of the people, the working of the machinery of government, the personal character of the Sultan, a most controversial topic and clears up a number of difficulties relating to the currency and the weights and measures of the reign. Badr-i-Chāch's panegyric does nothing more than help us in determining with accuracy a few important dates and corroborates the *Masālik*'s statement about the Sultan's patronage of learning and scholarship.

The near contemporaries of Barani who throw light upon certain aspects of Muhammad's reign are Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afif, the author of the *Sīrat*, Sultan Firuz himself and Sources nearly contemporary, 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani. Shams-i-Sirāj 'Āfif's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* is a continuation and completion of Zia Barani's history and is carried down to 790 A.H. (1388 A.D.) the date of Firuz Shah's death. 'Afif came of a family in Abuhār, the home of Firuz's Rajput mother and his great-grandfather was collector of revenue of Abuhār and was intimately known to Ghiyās-al-Dīn Tughluq. His father was also employed in the service of Sultan Firuz and he derived from him a great deal of information. His book is essentially a history of Firuz but he makes some observations regarding the origin of the dynasty and the character and achievements of Sultan Muhammad which serve as a corrective to Barani. The MSS. of 'Afif's history are available and I have found the Bibliotheca Indica edition fairly satisfactory. The *Sīrat-i-Firuz Shahi* of which the only copy is in the Khudabakhsh Library at Bankipore is a rare work. It was written in 772 A.H. (1370 A.D.) during the reign of Firuz and though the author does not give his name it appears from the highly eulogistic vein in which he writes that he attended the court of Firuz and enjoyed his patronage. The MS. is dated 1002 A.H. (1593 A.D.) and though very carelessly written is a very old copy. As the author of the *Sīrat* wrote only 18 years after Sultan Muhammad's death, his information must have been based upon what he saw with his own eyes and what he heard from eye-witnesses. He speaks of Muhammad's devoutness, his toleration towards the Hindūs, his great abilities and indirectly gives us a glimpse of the fiscal system which prevailed in his reign. It supplies information which is lacking in Barani and which is corroborated

from other independent sources; as for example, no historian, not even Barani, has recorded the story of Qazi Jalal's revolt, but the *Sīrat* makes mention of it and it is corroborated by Ibn Batūtah. Similarly it gives more details about the life of Taghī and the cause of his rebellion and in all important particulars it is substantially in agreement with Barani and others. The *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* of 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani compiled towards the close of the 14th century is an extremely rare work of which a copy is in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The MS. is not dated, but there is plenty of internal evidence to show that its author was 'Ain-al-Mulk Multani and that the present copy was transcribed not later than the 15th century. The author is a man of wide learning, well-versed in Islamic theology and jurisprudence and experienced in the affairs of state. There is no doubt about his identity for he describes himself as (بندہ جان بخشیش این خدایند) slave of the Sultan who was pardoned his life and sometimes as (بندہ پیر) old slave. It will be remembered that after his rebellion his life was spared by Sultan Muhammad. The *Munshāt-i-Māhrū* does not contain a word about the rebellion of its author, but it says much about the other aspects of his life and the times in which he lived. He mentions Sultan Muhammad's name with gratitude and supplies information regarding his reign which supplements Barani. He writes much about the system of administration as it existed under Firuz and a comparison of his account with Barani, Ibn Batūtah, the *Sīrat* and the *Fatūhāt* enables us to understand the institutions of the time which were not radically transformed. 'Ain-al-Mulk must have been aware of the cause of Sultan Ghiyās's death, but he slurs over it and in an *arzdasht* we read only the remark that 'the solid and well-founded palace fell down by the will of Providence'. As the MS. is an old copy, it is obscure in certain places and it is difficult to explain the precise meaning of the technical terms he employs in describing the fiscal system. Despite these defects 'Ain-al-Mulk is more elegant and polished than Barani, but our only regret is that he does not give us an account of his rebellion and his relations with Sultan Muhammad. He clearly distinguishes between the Gakkars and the Kholhars and gives much useful information about the provincial administration as it existed in the 14th century.

The *Fatūhāt* is an autobiographical memoir of Sultan Firuz. I have not come across any manuscript copy of this work except a small abridged version of it which is in the possession of Mr. Zafar

Husain of the Archæological Department. Sir Henry Elliot's translation (III, pp. 374—88) seems to be pretty full and accurate. The *Fatūhāt* dwells upon Firuz's achievements in the field of administration and humanitarian reform but at the same time it reflects the ascendancy of the ' *Ulama* over the Sultan's mind and his desire to suppress the spirit which was a legacy of the last reign. After Muhammad's death we find Firuz taking vigorous measures to stamp out heresy and idolatry which had possibly grown under Muhammad's liberalism. The *Fatūhāt* records how in everything the Sultan reverted to the Quranic formulæ. It is a valuable commentary upon Sultan Muhammad's reign and indirectly furnishes much evidence of his broad-mindedness and unorthodox policy.

Among later historians the most remarkable is Yahya bin Ahmad bin 'Abdullah Sirhindi, author of the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi*. This is a work which is superior to all later writings in several respects. It begins with the history of the conquest of Hindustan by Muhammad Ghorī and ends with an account of Muhammad Khan bin Khizr Khan. Sir Henry Elliot has given extracts (IV) from his MS. which Thomas describes as a second-rate copy, but he begins with Firuz Tughluq's reign. I was able to consult a fairly good manuscript copy of the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi* which is in the possession of Prof. J. N. Sarkar of the Patna College. This MS. is dated 1038 A.H. (1628 A.D.) a fairly old MS. and concludes with an account of Sultan Mubarak Sayyid's preparation for march to Multān. The last date in this MS. is Rabi-al-ākhir 838 A.H. (1434 A.D.). The author does not give a list of the works he utilised in writing his history. He simply says that he gathered the accounts of the Sultans of Dihli from various books and from eye-witnesses. But it is clear that he has consulted among others Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* and Shams-i-Sirāj 'Afīf's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*.

The *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi* supplements Barani in a variety of ways. Its author wrote only about eighty years after Muhammad Tughluq's death when there must have been living persons who had seen with their own eyes some at least of the events of his reign, or who must have derived their information from persons who were very near Muhammad's time. Yahya's real merit consists in the fact that he does not wholly depend upon Barani. It is clear from his

narrative that he has consulted some work or works other than Barani's history of which we have no trace at present. Among earlier authorities he alone gives dates and differs from Barani in material particulars. The value of his information increases a great deal when he is corroborated by Ibn Batūtah and other independent authorities. The points of agreement have been examined in detail in the body of this work. Later writers have made a free use of the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi*. Badaoni has copied it almost verbatim and has in certain places introduced errors for which he is himself responsible as for example, when he confounds Jalal-al-Din Ahsan Shah Kaithali with Hasan Kangu, the founder of the Bahmani dynasty. The order of events, the chronology and the method of treatment are exactly the same. Firishta has also borrowed a great deal from this work and it finds a place in his bibliography. But like others of his age Yahya is uncritical and reiterates the charges which Barani brought against the Sultan and towards the close of his account of his reign he enumerates the various causes to prove the theory of complete ruin. The language is simple, free from hyperboles and laudatory strings of adjectives and there is nothing of Barani's verbosity in it, nor does the author attempt anything more than a bare chronicle of facts.

The writers of the 16th and 17th centuries deserve a brief examination. Abul Fazl does not give a detailed history of the pre-Mughal Sultans of Dihli, but his *Ain-i-Akbari* is very useful for geographical and statistical information. Nizām-al-Din Ahmad, the author of the *Tabqāt-i-Akbari* who finished his work in 1593 is a historian of great repute. He has certainly a better mental equipment than Badaoni and Firishta, and his sources of information are trustworthy. He names 27 works which he utilised in preparing his history among which are mentioned the *Tughluq namah*, Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi*, the *Tarikh-i-Bahmani* the *Tarikh-i-Bahadur Shahi*, the *Tarikh-i-Fatuh-u-Salāfin* which deal to some extent with the Tughluqs. The Bakhshi's faculty for discrimination and capacity for judicious interpretation coupled with the want of rhetoric distinguish him from other historians of the period. In writing his history of the first two Tughluqs he largely drew upon Barani's *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* from which the narrative is sometimes copied verbatim. He mentions the *Tughluq namah* among his authorities but he throws no light upon the origin of the dynasty. He could not get hold of 'Aff's *Manāqib-i-Sultan*

Tughluq and probably obtained little help from Amir Khusrau's panegyric. The *Tariḫ-i-Mubārak Shahi* is also mentioned in his list but there is nothing in his narrative to show that he consulted it. He follows Barani's meagre chronology and adopts his arrangement of topics. But in some matters he is remarkably accurate as for example in describing the origin of Hasan Kangu, the founder of the Bahmani kingdom. In dealing with Muhammad Tughluq's reign, though he repeats the story of a mournful tragedy, his remarks throw much light upon certain problems connected with it. The provincial histories given by him are very useful and in certain cases supplement the information given even by contemporary writers.

A contemporary of Nizam-al-Din is Amīn Ahmad Rāzi, the author of the *Haft Iqlīm* who completed his work in 1593 A.D. There are copies of this work in the Bankipore, the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Buhar libraries and a small portion of it has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica. The author of the *Haft Iqlīm* is an independent authority and gives some original information. Being an earlier writer than Badaoni, 'Ali, Firishta and Hajji-ad-Dabir, he is more valuable when he is corroborated from other independent sources as for example in giving an account of the origin of the Bahmani dynasty he refers to a certain work the *'Ayūn-ut-tawāriḫ* which is in agreement with the *Tabqāt*, the *Burhan-i-Masīr* and the Arabic History of Gujarat. The *Haft Iqlīm* is an encyclopædia which gives biographical notices of Shaikhs and leading personages and throws much light upon certain events of political history.

Next in point of time comes Badaoni who is valued highly by European scholars. Badaoni was an orthodox Sunni who saw in Akbar's liberalism the ruin of Islam. He finished his history on February 23, 1596, two years after Nizām-al-Din's death, and though he expresses his gratefulness to the former, he does not borrow his facts from him. He does not follow Barani either. As he says in his preface, he relies upon the *Tariḫ-i-Mubārak Shahi* which he copies in a most uncritical fashion. He does not seem to have taken the trouble of comparing the text of the *Tariḫ-i-Mubārak Shahi* with those of Barani's *Tariḫ-i-Firuz Shahi* and the *Tabqāt-i-Akbari*. From the beginning to the end the method of Badaoni is the same as that of Yahya, though he omits to mention certain details given by the latter.

Firishta and Hajjī-ad-Dabīr are contemporaries but they do not appear to have met or consulted each other. Firishta presented his history to Ibrahim 'Adil Shah in 1015 A.H. (1606 A.D.) while Hajjī-ad-Dabīr was still engaged upon his work. Firishta quotes no less than 35 works which he utilised in preparing his history and names 20 others in the body of the text from which he makes citations. Though the *Tarikh-i-Mubārak Shahi* and the *Tarikh-i-Bahādur Shahi* are included in his list, he makes mention of no contemporary history dealing with the Tughluqs other than those that are known to us. He largely bases his account upon Barani, Nizam-al-Din and Yahya and refers to several other works in the course of his narrative. Some European scholars look upon him as a mere plagiarist, but this judgment is a little too severe in view of the fact that the methods of scientific writing and critical interpretation were unknown to mediæval scholars. Firishta's chronology is defective, his statements are sometimes inconsistent and in the midst of conflicting statements of various historians he finds himself in great difficulty and adopts a curiously indecisive attitude. But in the volume of matter and the simplicity of his style he excels many other Persian writers. He has a fuller acquaintance with Deccan history and mentions among his authorities the *Bahmannamah*, the *Sirāj-al-tawārikh* by Mulla Muhammad Lāri and the *Tuhfatuh Salātin Bahmani* by Mulla Daud Badari which are scarce. Strangely enough he does not mention the *Burhān-i-Māsir* of 'Ali bin 'Azizullah Tabātābā which appeared about 1596 A.D. Probably this was due to professional rivalry. The *Burhān* which was commenced in 1000 A.H. (1591 A.D.) as is shown by the title which is a chronogram was written in the Deccan and its author must have had access to reliable sources of information. There are several discrepancies in the two works regarding the names and genealogies of some of the Bahmanī kings. The account of the origin of Hasan Kāngū given by the *Burhān-i-Māsir* is quite different from that given by Firishta and it is supported by a number of earlier and later authorities and by numismatic evidence. The *Burhān* at once supplements and corrects Firishta in several particulars and altogether it is a valuable history of the Deccan. Major King has translated it in the Indian Antiquary Vol. xxviii (119—55) and Luzac and Co. have published a reprint of the translation. I have utilised Prof. J. N. Sarkar's MS. which has been transcribed from the India office MS.

The *Zafar-al-Walih bi Muzaffar wa Aliah* of 'Abdullah Muhammad bin Siraj-al-Din 'Omar Al-Makki surnamed Hajjī-ad-Dabīr is another important work which deserves to be noted. A portion of this valuable work has been published in two volumes by Sir Denison Ross with a critical introduction under the title of "An Arabic History of Gujarat." The unpublished portion, of which the proof sheets were generously lent to me by Sir Denison Ross, gives a fairly detailed history of the first two Tughluqs. The Hajjī began writing his book in 1015 A.H. (1605 A.D.) and as Sir Denison Ross points out, was still engaged upon the work when the *Mīrat-i-Sikandarī* was published about 1611 A.D. For the first two Tughluqs the Hajjī has copiously consulted Barani's *Tariḫ-i-Firuz Shahi*. But he supplements and sometimes corrects Barani from other sources such as the *Tabqāt-i-Bahādur Shahi* of Husām Khan written in the tenth century A.H. which so far as I know is no longer available. In the body of his work he makes mention of several other works which he has utilised in preparing his history. Husām Khan often differs from Barani, but as we are not aware of the sources which he consulted, we cannot always prefer his version to that of Barani unless it is supported by other independent evidence. The Hajjī often makes parallel quotations from Barani and Husām Khan without expressing his own opinion. He is well-informed about the history of Gujarat and the Deccan and in describing the origin of Hasan Kāngū he is in agreement with the *Burhān-i-Māsir* though he never mentions the name of this work. He is a careful and honest compiler and in an age when copying was much in vogue and authors used to palm off other peoples' writings as their own, he has the frankness to state the names of the writers whose version he reproduces.

The *Gulzār-i-Abrār* compiled by Muhammad Guthi bin Hasan bin Mūsā Shattārī in 1602—13 A.D. is a rare hagiological work dealing with the lives of the Sufi saints of Muslim India. It throws a flood of light upon the spiritual life of the Muslims in those days.

An oft-quoted later compilation is the *Khulāsat-ut-tawārīḫ* of Sujan Rai Khatri of Batālā in the Punjab composed in 1695-96 A.D. There are several MS. copies of it in India, and it has been edited and published by Mr. Zafar Hasan of the Archæological Department. Sujan Rai gives a large bibliography, but it does not appear that he consulted all the works mentioned therein. Strangely enough

none of the contemporary works dealing with the Tughluqs find a place in his list. He follows Nizām-al-Din and Firishta, and gives no new information about anything except the origin of Ghīyās and the Punjab floods of the early times. Though a Hindu writer, he shows no partisan spirit. He is so saturated with the Persian histories that he forgets that he is a Hindu and writes as if he were a Muslim. Captain Lees describes (J.R.A.S. 1868, p. 423) the *Khulāsāt* as 'one of the most carefully compiled general histories of India' and he was much impressed by the 'ability and modesty of the real historian.' Needless to say, this praise is not altogether deserved and Sujan Rai is nothing more than an ordinary compiler.

Another work which throws light upon certain aspects of the reigns of the first two Tughluq Sultans and which furnishes us with an account of Zia Barani is the *Matlūb-al-Tālibīn*, a biography of Shaikh Nizam-al-Din Aulia, composed in 1111 A.H., i.e., 1689 A.D. by Muhammad Bulāq who describes himself as a nephew of the Shaikh. He says he has based his account on the *Tārīkh-i-Hindī*, the *Hasratnāmāh*, the *Chishtiyyah Bihishtiyyah*. Hazrat Sayyid Jalal Makhdūm's writings, the *Rāhat-al-Muhabbin*, the *Fawāyid-al-fawād*, and the *Sair-al-Aulia* by Sayyid Muhammad Kirmānī and several other works. Being a descendant of the Shaikh, he has nothing but admiration for him, but his detailed account is full of interesting information about the social and religious life of the time. He tells us much about the disciples of the Shaikh who played an important part in the affairs of the empire of Dihli under the Tughluqs and helps us to solve the problem of the death of Sultan Ghīyās-al-Din Tughluq.

The *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* of Mirza Haider Daghlat, a cousin of the Emperor Babar, composed towards the middle of the 16th century, is the history of that branch of the Mughal Khans who separated themselves about the year 1321, from the main stem of the Chaghtāi, which was then the ruling clan in Transoxiana. Mirza Haider tells us much about the Mughals and incidentally gives a brief account of the Qaraunahs. The *Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī* has been translated into English by Ney Elias and Sir Denison Ross and the learned translators have in their introduction cleared up many intricacies regarding the Turkish and Mughal tribes. The footnotes and the appendices contain much valuable information which helps us to elucidate the tangled history of the various clans of Central Asia.

The Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī.

Much light is thrown on Rajput history by Muhnot Nainsi's Khyātā compiled during the years 1650—66 A.D. It is not a historical work in the strict sense of the term, but it embodies a lot of information gleaned by the author from documents stored in the archives of the states of Rajputana for at least 200 years before his time. The Khyātās of the bards, traditions and Vansāvalis, which the author could lay his hands on, have been incorporated in this work *in extenso* so that a great deal of falsehood is mixed up with genuine historical matter. The period covered is from 1143 A.D. till the times of the author. The language employed is old Marwari and in some places *Dingal* is also used. Nainsi does not exaggerate or minimise; he is a truthful recorder of events and, therefore, his work despite its defects has much historical value. While the Muhammadan historians write vaguely about Rajputana and extol the deeds of valour of their patrons, Nainsi presents the other side and his observations have a freshness and charm which seldom fails to strike us.

The provincial histories of India supplement the information contained in general histories. The histories of Sindh, the *Tarikh-i-Māsūmī*, the *Tuhfatuh-al-Kirām*, the *Tārīkh-i-Tāhiri* and others have been translated copiously in Elliot's History, Vol. I. The Khudabaksh Library possesses manuscript copies of the *Tarikh-i-Māsūmī* and the *Tuhfatuh-al-Kirām* which I have compared with Elliot's translations. For Bengal the only connected history is the *Riyāz-us-Salāṭīn* of Ghulām Husain completed in 1788 A.D. but it is full of inaccuracies and misstatements of facts. In describing the history of Bengal I have relied upon contemporary authorities and the evidence of coins and inscriptions. The numerous articles on Bengal history published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal have also been utilised. Stewart's History of Bengal does not go far enough and is inaccurate both in facts and chronology.

As for the history of Gujarat, the *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* and the *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī* provide only a general sketch of this period. The *Mīrāt-i-Sikandarī* is an earlier work, but its account of Muhammad Tughluq's Gujarat campaigns is not exhaustive. The *Mīrāt-i-Ahmadī* is a later compilation, but it contains much useful historical and topographical information. Hajjī-ad-Dabīr has a special knowledge of the history of Gujarat, and although he copies Barani's ac-

count of the Deccan rebellions of Muhammad Tughluq's reign he is more correct in describing the names of important places and persons.

There is not much contemporary literature which has a direct bearing upon the history of the first two Tughluqs. The *Qasīdās* of Badr-i-Chāch have been mentioned before.

Contemporary
Literature.

The *Dhūrta Samāgam Nāṭak* (a comedy of cheats) by a Maithil poet Jyotirīśvara, was staged

early in the 14th century at the court of Hari Singh Deva of the Kāranāta dynasty. It throws some light upon an important point connected with the Bengal expedition of Sultan Ghiyās-al-Din Tughluq. There are several literary works dealing with the foundation of the city of Vijayanagar of which detailed notices are given in Ayyanger's Sources of Vijayanagar history which I have utilised.

Besides the authorities mentioned before, there are other historical works written outside India which serve to explain certain points relating to this period of Indian history.

Non-Indian
Sources.

During the 13th and 14th centuries the Mongols or Mughals exercised much influence on Indian

affairs and under Muhammad Tughluq the Indian government was brought into touch with the great powers of Central Asia. To understand the conditions which existed in Central Asian countries in Muhammad's day and to explain the position and prerogative of the Khilafat in the first half of the 14th century it has been necessary to consult some non-Indian histories. Among the Persian authors who have written about the Mughals the first place belongs to Rashīd-al-Dīn, the author of the *Jām-ut-tawārīkh*, who completed his work in 1312 A.D. Rashīd's sources were excellent. The archives of the *Ilkhāns* were at his disposal and he was constantly aided by a Mughal who knew all about the Mughal and Turkish tribes. Rashīd-al-Dīn gives much useful information about Indian geography some of which is reproduced in Elliot's *Historians*, Vol. I.

The *Tarīkh-i-Wassāf* was completed in 1312 A.D. The historian's real name was 'Abdullah bin Fazl-Ullah and the surname Wassāf which he took for himself was justified by his rhetorical style. The *Tarīkh-i-Wassāf* contains an account of India which is brought down to 1312 A.D. and gives some interesting geographical notices. There is a whole chapter in it dealing with the history of Abu Sa'īd, the *Ilkhān* ruler of Persia, a contemporary of Muhammad Tughluq. Wassāf subsequently resumed his labours and brought down his history to the year 728 A.H. (1328 A.D.).

Malik Muayyad Ismail Abul Fedā, author of the *Tarīkh-i-Abul Fedā*, was a learned prince who wrote an account of his times. It is written on page 302 of the text that I have utilised that Abul Fedā's history goes down to 709 A.H., but the MS. of Ibn Bardī goes down to 729 A.H. The printed text in the Allahabad Public Library contains account of events up to the death of Ilkhan Abu Said of Persia in 736 A.H. Abul Fedā gives a rapid and brief survey of the 'Abbasid Khalifahs and the information he supplies is very meagre. But he is valuable for things that came directly under his notice. He gives an account of the relations of Abu Sa'id and Sultan Nāsir of Egypt which enables us to understand the foreign policy of the Central Asian rulers. In the beginning he mentions a number of works which he utilised in preparing his history. He writes in a plain and elegant style and is not ornate like Khondāmīr.

The *Tarīkh-i-Guzīdah* composed in 1329 A.D., is a general history of great value. The author mentions about 24 works which he utilised in preparing it. It contains a full account of the 'Abbasids and their fall and of the Muslim kings of Persia.

The *Majmal-i-Fasīhī* is a valuable chronological compendium of important events down to 1441 A.D. The author Ahmad bin Muhammad lived in the time of Shāh Rukh and was an eye-witness of most of the events he describes. His chronological summary is very useful. There is a copy of this work in the Khudabakhsh Library, Bankipore.

The *Habīb-us-Siyar* is a general history from the creation of the world to 930 A.H. (1523 A.D.) by Ghiyās-al-Din bin Humām-al-Dīn surnamed Khondāmīr, who wrote it during the years 927—30 A.H. (1521—24 A.D.). The work gives an elaborate account of the 'Abbasid Khalifahs and the Ilkhāns of Persia and I have gleaned much information from it about them.

Jalāl-al-Din A's Suyūti, *Tārīkh-al-Khulfā* translated by Jarrett, Biblioth. Ind. A's Suyūti was born according to A's Sakhwi in the month of Rajab 849 A.H. (October, 1445 A.D.). His mother was a Turkish slave and he was brought up as an orphan. He studied theology and jurisprudence deeply and won a high place in the world of scholarship. He died on the 18th Jamād, I. 911 A.H. (October 17, 1505 A.D.).

The *Tārīkh-al-Khulfā* of Suyūti, though it cannot be treated as an original work, is an excellent summary of the principal events of

the reigns of the Khalifahs. Suyūti is not merely a chronicler of political events. He sketches vividly the fashions and manners which prevailed at the courts of Khalifahs and in this respect he is superior to Abul Fedā. Like Abul Fedā he consulted copiously the leading authorities on the subject and he mentions twelve works which he utilised in preparing his history. It would be unfair to judge Suyūti's history by the canons of modern criticism. He lived at a time when law and theology were exclusively studied by Muslim students and hence his work is saturated with the influence of traditional learning. Suyūti makes no mention of the negotiations between the Khalifahs and Sultan Muhammad Tughluq which are described in Barani's *Tārīkh-i-Firuz Shāhi*. But his account of the Khalifahs Al-Mustakfi and Al-Hakīm and their relations with the rulers of Egypt helps us to understand the conditions of the age and the prestige of the office of Khalifah in spite of the scant regard which rulers like Nāsir paid to them. We learn from Suyūti that the Khalifahs were powerless in the time of Sultan Nāsir and his immediate successors. Al-Mustakfi was imprisoned by Nāsir and banished from the Capital. That Muhammad Tughluq should have offered submission to these powerless pontiffs proves clearly the hold of the traditional idea upon his mind.

The *Haft Risālah-i-Taqwīm-ul-Buldān* is a later compilation which gives an account of the Mughal races. It gives a short summary of events in the history of Transoxiana in chronological order from 990 A.D. to 1610 A.D. The MS. in the Buhar Library is in a damaged condition and the colophon is dated the 10th Zi-al-Qadah, A.H. 1197.

In addition to these I have utilised D'Ohosson's *Histoire des Mongols* in four volumes, a work based on profound original research. I have found it useful for the history of the Ilkhāns of Persia, the Khāns of Cathay and the Chaghtai rulers of Transoxiana. Howorth's *History of the Mongols* is equally useful. No words can convey an idea of the toil which this huge work must have entailed upon its author. The work is a store-house of information about the Mongols. Though it is lacking in method and proper arrangement, it supplements and corrects the work of other European scholars.

Archæological
evidence.

The archæological evidence is of three kinds:—(1) Monumental, (2) Epigraphic, (3) Numismatic.

The monumental evidence is of great illustrative value. The ruins of Tughluqabad and old Dihli still testify to the greatness of the Tughluqs. The solidity and massiveness of the fort and the solemn grandeur of the tomb of Sultan Tughluq Shah give us some idea of their power and magnificence. There are a few inscriptions in Northern India which illustrate the history of the period, but for South Indian history we have an abundance of inscriptions on copper plates. These inscriptions are either commemorative, dedicatory or donative. They throw a flood of light upon the history of the Hindu states of the South and their relations towards the Muhammadan empire of Dihli on the one hand and the Sultanate of Madura on the other. They help us to define with approximate accuracy the limits of the ancient kingdoms. It does not fall within the purview of this work to give a detailed history of the Vijayanagar empire and I have contented myself merely with giving an account of its foundation and the circumstances attending it from original sources. The valuable material embodied in the *Epigraphia Indica*, the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the *Epigraphical Reports*, Sewell's *Lists of Antiquities* and the numerous archæological reports and journals have been carefully used as the footnotes will show. Most of the South India inscriptions are of a donative character and are useful in as much as they enable us sometimes to determine an important date. The numerous inscriptions of Ballala III indicate the acuteness of the struggle which the Hindus carried on amongst themselves and with the Muhammadan powers.

In constructing a connected history of Muhammad Tughluq's reign the numismatic data have proved of incalculable assistance. The mediæval writers are as a rule deficient in chronology and consequently much difficulty is experienced in settling the dates of even important political events. The numismatic material is more accessible than the epigraphic. A great many coins have been discussed in treatises by scholars of repute who have placed plenty of useful material within the reach of the researchist from which he can draw his own conclusions. The coins of Muhammad Tughluq and the legends inscribed thereon have served to elucidate several knotty points connected with his reign and have helped considerably in making a full chronology. The various coins collected in Thomas' '*Chronicles of the Pathān kings*,' the '*Initial coinage of Bengal*,' the various catalogues of coins and the journals of learned Societies have been carefully studied and utilised. The numismatic data have

rendered invaluable help in interpreting the history of Bengal during this period.

The English works which I have consulted in the course of my investigations are too many to be mentioned here. But among these there are two which rank as original material. They are Marco Polo's Travels and Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan. Marco Polo, the famous Venetian traveller, visited India towards the close of the 13th century and his observations regarding the geography of the Deccan and the social and political condition of the people are extremely interesting: Yule's *Travels of Marco Polo* in two volumes with elaborate footnotes is a mine of information. In revising Yule's work Cordier has shown much learning and critical acumen and has considerably added to the information supplied by the former.

Tod never meant his work to be treated as a history of Rajasthan. He only offered to use his own words 'a copious collection of materials for the future historians.' He is therefore an original authority for the Rajput period. He is pro-Rajput in his sympathies, but that does not detract from the merit of his monumental work. His dates and facts are sometimes wrong and we must exercise caution in dealing with them. There are several editions of Tod but I have used Crooke's edition which contains useful explanatory notes.

Besides the authorities mentioned above the following have been consulted in the preparation of this work :—

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Journal, United Provinces Historical Society.

Journal of Indian History.

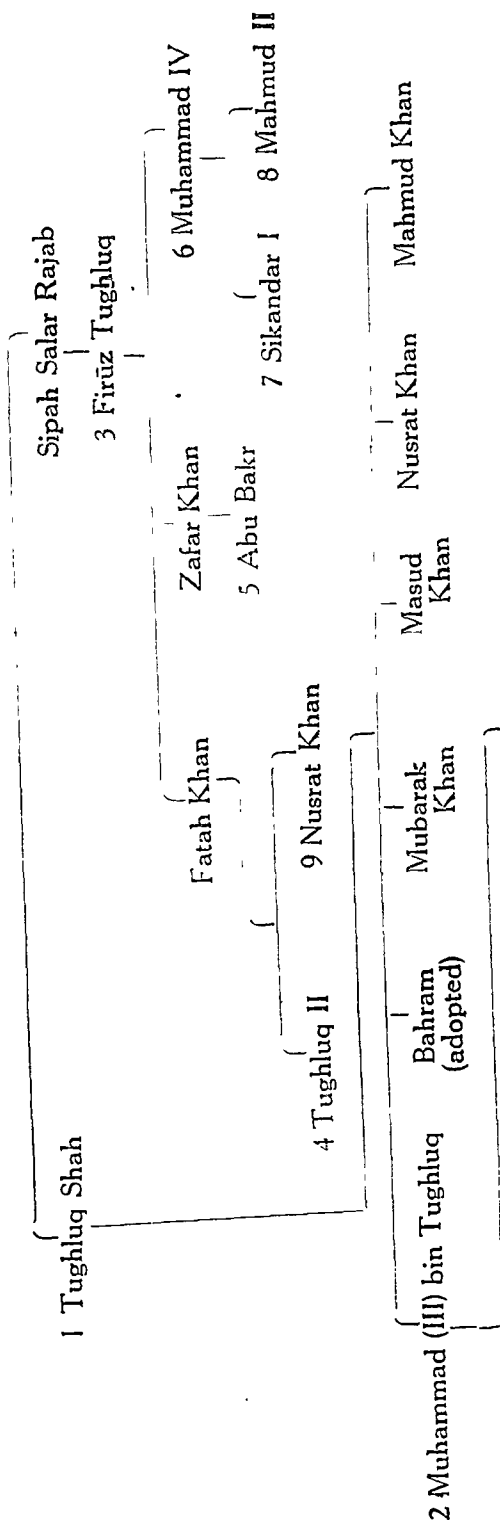
Journal Asiatique.

LEADING DATES

| A. H. | A. D. | |
|--------|---------|---|
| 720 | 1320 | Ghiyās-al-Dīn Tughluq's accession to the throne. |
| 721 | 1321 | Expedition Against Warangal. |
| 724 | 1324 | Expedition to Lakhnautī. |
| 725 | 1325 | Death of Ghiyās-al-Dīn Tughluq.
Accession of Muhammad bin Tughluq. |
| 727 | 1326-27 | Bahā-al-Dīn Gashtāsp's Rebellion. |
| 727 | 1326-27 | Transfer of the Capital. |
| 727 | 1326-27 | Taxation in the Doāb. |
| 727-28 | 1327-28 | Suppression of the Prince of Kondhanā. |
| 728 | 1327-28 | Bahram Aibā's rebellion at Multān. |
| 730 | 1329-30 | Introduction of Token Currency. |
| 735 | 1334-35 | Rebellion of Jalāl-al-Dīn Ahsan Shāh. |
| 736 | 1335-36 | Rebellion of Malik Hushang. |
| 737 | 1336-37 | Rebellion of Fakhr-al-Dīn in Bengal. |
| 737-38 | 1338 | Revolt of Nizām Māī'n at Karā |
| 738 | 1337-38 | The Conquest of Nagarkot. |
| .. | .. | Qarājal Expedition. |
| 739-40 | 1338-39 | Nuṣrat Khān's Rebellion. |

| A. H. | A. D. | |
|-------------------|---------------|--|
| 740 | 1339-40 | Revolt of 'Alī Shāh. |
| 740-41 | 1340-41 | Revolt of 'Ain-al-Mulk Multānī. |
| 741 | 1340-41 | The Sultān's submission to the Khalīfah. |
| 742 | 1341-42 | Ghiyās-al-Dīn, a scion of the Khalīfah visits Delhī. |
| .. | .. | Muhammad opens diplomatic relations with China. |
| Şafar 17, 743 | July 22, 1342 | Ibn Batūtah starts for China. |
| 744 | 1344 | Hājī Sarsari came back to Dihli with a patent from the Khalīfah. |
| 744 | 1343-44 | Kṛiṣṇa Nāyak's Rebellion. |
| 745 | 1344-45 | Recall of Qutlugh Khān. |
| 746 | 1346 | Hājī Rajab returned to Dihli with a patent from the Khalīfah. |
| Rabī' II, 24, 748 | Aug. 20, 1347 | Foundation of the Bahmanī Kingdom. |
| Muharram, 21, 752 | Mar. 20, 1351 | Death of Sultan Muhammad Tughluq. |

Tughluq Dynasty (1320—1412) A.D.)



| | Date of accession | |
|-------------------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1 Chiyas-al-Din Tughluq | 720 H. | 6 Muhammad Shah bin Firuz Shah |
| 2 Muhammad Tughluq | 725 | 7 Sikandar Shah |
| 3 Firuz Tughluq | 752 | 8 Mahmud Shah bin Muhammad Shah |
| 4 Tughluq Shah II | 790 | 9 Nusrat Shah |
| 5 Abu Bakr Shah | 791 | 10 Mahmud Shah restored again |
| | | 792 H. |

A. H. Table of Muhammadan dates. A. D.
 Date of Muharram 1.

| | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|-----|------|
| 720 | Tuesday, February 12 | ... | 1320 |
| 721 | Saturday, January 31 | ... | 1321 |
| 722 | Wednesday, January 20 | ... | 1322 |
| 723 | Monday, January 10 | ... | 1323 |
| 724 | Friday, December 30 | ... | 1323 |
| 725 | Tuesday, December 18 | ... | 1324 |
| 726 | Sunday, December 8 | ... | 1325 |
| 727 | Thursday, November 27 | ... | 1326 |
| 728 | Tuesday, November 17 | ... | 1327 |
| 729 | Saturday, November 5 | ... | 1328 |
| 730 | Wednesday, October 25 | ... | 1329 |
| 731 | Monday, October 15 | ... | 1330 |
| 732 | Friday, October 4 | ... | 1331 |
| 733 | Tuesday, September 22 | ... | 1332 |
| 734 | Sunday, September 12 | ... | 1333 |
| 735 | Thursday, September 1 | ... | 1334 |
| 736 | Monday, August 21 | ... | 1335 |
| 737 | Saturday, August 10 | ... | 1336 |
| 738 | Wednesday, July 30 | ... | 1337 |
| 739 | Monday, July 20 | ... | 1338 |
| 740 | Friday, July 9 | ... | 1339 |
| 741 | Tuesday, June 27 | ... | 1340 |
| 742 | Sunday, June 17 | ... | 1341 |
| 743 | Thursday, June 6 | ... | 1342 |
| 744 | Monday, May 26 | ... | 1343 |
| 745 | Saturday, May 15 | ... | 1344 |
| 746 | Wednesday, May 4 | ... | 1345 |
| 747 | Monday, April 24 | ... | 1346 |
| 748 | Friday, April 13 | ... | 1347 |
| 749 | Tuesday, April 1 | ... | 1348 |
| 750 | Sunday, March 22 | ... | 1349 |
| 751 | Thursday, March 11 | ... | 1350 |
| 752 | Monday, February 28 | ... | 1351 |

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